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EDITOR'S NOTE

As this issue of *The American Neptune* goes to press, the North American Society for Oceanic History has just completed its fifteenth annual conference on maritime history, this one at the State University of New York Maritime College at Fort Schuyler. Founded in 1975, NASOH's purpose is to promote research, publication, and education in the fields of naval and maritime history.

At the same time that NASOH members were meeting in New York, the Canadian Nautical Research Society was holding its annual conference in Ottawa. CNRS, like NASOH, devotes its energies to promoting and publishing maritime research. Following those conferences was the Fourth Annual Maritime Heritage Conference in Baltimore in June. Sponsored by the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the National Maritime Alliance, that meeting focused on strengthening a national alliance of maritime interests and shaping an agenda for the 1990s.

Last April, representatives of the member institutions of the Council of American Maritime Museums gathered at the Calvert Marine Museum in Solomons, Maryland, for a program that focused on exhibit design. CAMM has concerned itself in recent years with the new field of underwater archaeology, the passage of the Abandoned Shipwreck Act, and the establishment of guidelines for maritime museums regarding the acquisition of artifacts from shipwreck sites. And about the time that this issue of the *Neptune* reached its readers, representatives of maritime museums around the globe gathered at New York's South Street Seaport Museum for an August meeting of CAMM's world-wide counterpart, the International Congress of Maritime Museums.

In August of 1992 the First International Congress of Maritime History will be held in Liverpool, England, sponsored by the International Maritime Economic History Association and hosted jointly by the University of Liverpool and the Merseyside Maritime Museum. Another group that devotes itself to maritime historical research, the International Commission for Maritime History, has recently issued a call for papers for a joint conference with the Australian Association for Maritime History, to be held in December of 1993 in Perth/Fremantle. According to ICMH's initial statement, the purpose of the 1993 conference will be to explore the "state-of-the-art" in maritime history and define the challenges for the future.

In the last issue of this journal, we extended congratulations to the winner of the 1989 Naval History Prize and announced the opening of nominations for the 1990 award. Now we can extend similar congratulations to some additional prize winners. NASOH recognized five naval and maritime historians when it awarded its annual John K. Lyman Book Awards in May, and its K. Jack Bauer Award for outstanding contributions to the field of maritime studies went to L. Byrne Waterman of Baltimore, Maryland. In addition, Cleveland State University has named Frederick C. Drake of Brock University in St. Catharines, Ontario, and John Summers of the Marine Museum of Upper Canada in Toronto as the first and second place winners, respectively, of the newly created Great Lakes History Prize.

All this speaks very well of the current state of our discipline. It is clear that a wide variety of individuals from all over the world are pursuing their interest in naval and maritime history through membership in organizations, attendance at professional conferences, and researching, writing, and publishing their work on the history of the sea and ships. That variety is reflected as well in the offerings of Volume 51, Number 2 of the *Neptune*, where both professional and amateur historians from the United States, Canada, England, Poland, and Germany address such diverse topics as naval warfare in 1813 and 1942 (the latter from both sides of the conflict), health care in port cities, maritime portraiture, newly discovered documents, and the Royal Navy's penchant for shipboard pets.

Surely all of the above — organizations, conferences, publications, awards, and ongoing research around the world — are indications of a dynamic discipline in which we all have the good fortune to be participants.

Finally, it is with regret that I close this note with an announcement of the deaths of two friends of *The American Neptune*. Francis Lee Higginson, Jr., a longtime member of the Editorial Advisory Board, and Elizabeth C. Lewis, wife of our former editor Archibald R. Lewis and a generous contributor to the *Neptune*, both died this past spring. We lament their loss and extend our sympathies to their families and friends.

TIMOTHY J. RUNYAN

Cleveland, Ohio

Sailors' Pets in the Royal Navy in the Age of Sail

SUZANNE J. STARK

WHEN Captain James Cook's first expedition to the Pacific (1768-1771) returned to England, one of the participants who gained wide celebrity was a nanny goat. This was her second voyage around the world; she first circled the globe with Captain Samuel Wallis in the *Dolphin* (1767-1768) and was such a resolute sailor that Wallis passed her on to Cook. Throughout her five years at sea, even in periods when her own victuals were limited to a few dried peas, she continuously provided milk for the officers' coffee. Samuel Johnson, the literary savant and lexicographer, wrote a Latin distich in her honor, and James Boswell translated it:

> In fame scarce second to the nurse of Jove,
> This Goat, who twice the world had traversed round,
> Deserving both her masters' care and love,
> Ease and perpetual pasture now has found.[1]

Sailing ships of the British Royal Navy carried a variety of animals to sea, and both officers and crew turned to their pet animals to provide an outlet for their otherwise repressed tenderness and affection. The antics of the animals also offered diversion from the monotony of shipboard routine.

Life in the Georgian navy, especially for the seamen, was both brutal and tedious. Crews survived on a diet of weevil-ridden biscuits, salt meat, and cheese so hard that it could be carved into buttons. Men were often severely flogged for the most minor offenses. A ship's captain ran his ship pretty much as he saw fit with few standard regulations to guide him, and the crew of a despotic captain was almost powerless to redress serious grievances.

A large percentage of the seamen were forced on board by press gangs, so that once in a ship they seldom got out again, for the officers knew that it was likely that most of the crew would desert as soon as they got on shore. Men spent years without once returning home to see their families and were at sea for months without female companionship. (In port, boatloads of women were sent out to the ships, anchored far out in the harbor, but even in home ports the men were rarely given shore leave.)

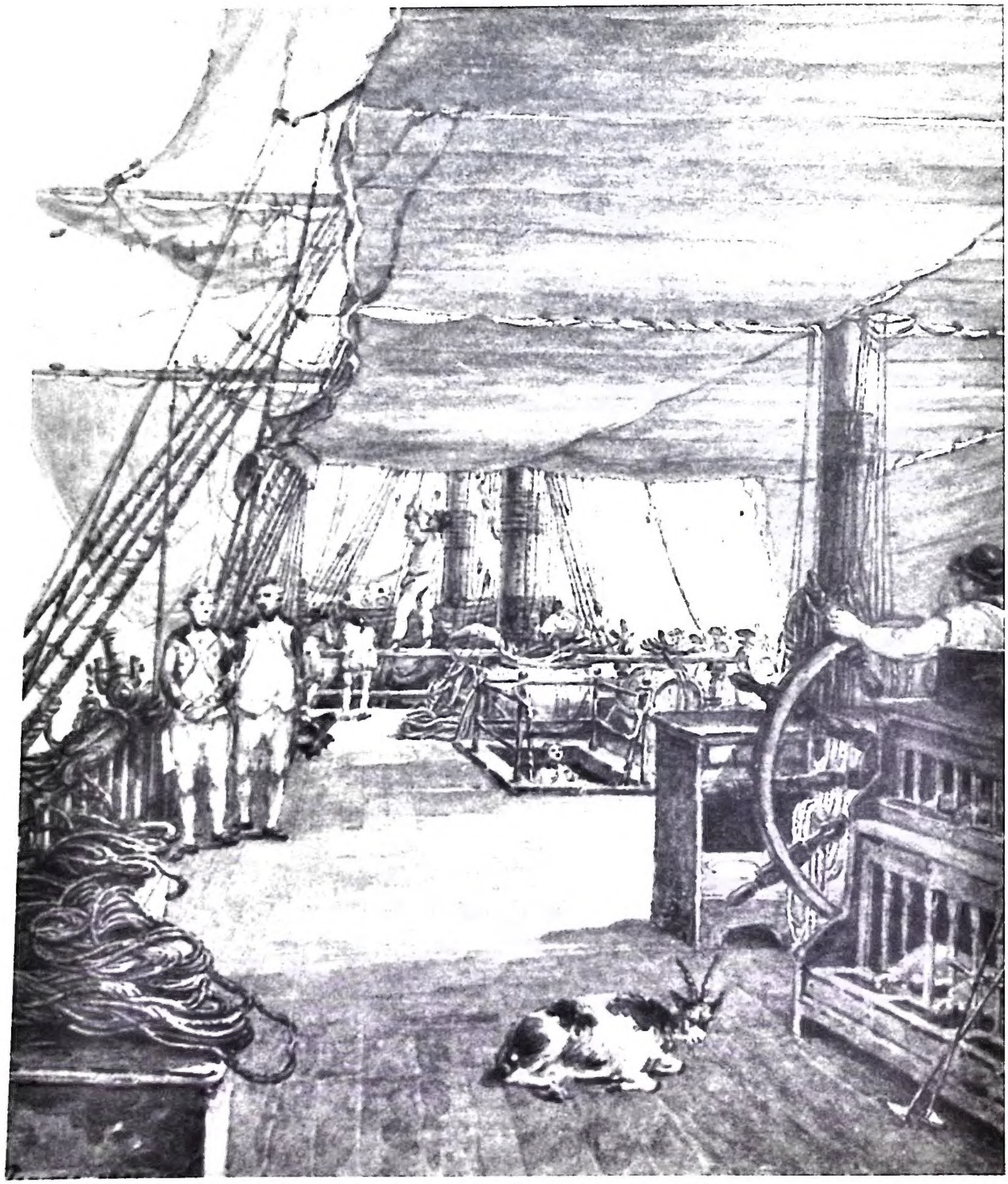
There were few diversions to relieve the grinding monotony of shipboard routine, especially on blockade duty when the vessels patrolling the enemy's coast plied back and forth, back and forth, month after month with deadening repetition. In this grueling environment, it is not surprising that pet animals played an important role in shipboard life.

Many if not most captains allowed dogs and cats on board as well as tame birds and monkeys. (The cats helped keep down the rat population.) There was also the livestock that provided fresh meat for the officers and the sick, and on rare occasions, for the crew. In large ships the bullocks, sheep, and pigs were housed forward of the seamen's quarters on the lower deck; in smaller vessels their pens were placed wherever there was space on decks already crowded with men, ammunition, and victuals. Chickens, often purchased by the captain from his own private funds, provided eggs for the officers' table and chicken soup for the sick. They were housed in cages on the quarterdeck where the officers stood watch and could keep an eye out for seamen trying to steal the eggs.

Naval ships often carried a cow or, more often, a she-goat to furnish milk for the officers and midshipmen. Goats were the better sailors; they were sure-footed on a rolling deck and could survive on a less restricted diet than cows whose hay took up a lot of valuable space.

The author would like to thank Jill E. Erickson and Jan Malcheski of the Boston Athenæum for their patient guidance in the research for this article.

1. James Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887), 2 (1765-1776): 144.



The quarterdeck of the *Deal Castle*, on passage home from the West Indies in 1775, was depicted in an 1804 watercolor by Thomas Hearne. Note the untethered goat and caged chickens. Courtesy of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

Also, unlike other livestock, goats were seldom seasick. The ship's goat was not penned or even tethered, but wandered the quarterdeck at will.

It was not unusual for the seamen to make a special pet of one of the barnyard animals. In Captain John Harvey Boteler's brig the *Onyx*, in the late 1820s, the crew grew so attached to a young pig that had traveled with them from Portsmouth to the West Indies that on the passage home, when they learned it was to be butchered for the captain's table, they sent a deputation to the captain, begging its life. It was a serious matter for a group of seamen to address a complaint to their captain; they were not even supposed to speak to an officer unless first addressed by that officer. In this case, the men were willing to take the risk to save their friend the pig. "You see, sir," they pleaded, "he is just one of us; he knows us all and takes his grog daily like any Christian." "Well," writes Captain Boteler, "I could do no less than give in."[2]

At least one cow was as doughty a sailor as the goats. When Boteler was a young lieutenant in the fifty-gun *Antelope* stationed in the West Indies in the years 1815 to 1819, there was "a very pretty little Alderney cow...the mid's greatest friend."[3] (Midshipmen, who were often as young as eleven or twelve, especially needed the respite from homesickness that a friendly animal provided.) She preferred shipboard life to life on shore: when the ship came into port, and she was taken out to pasture, she would jump every fence between her and the ship's boat in her desperation to get back to the vessel. Every morning at sea, Boteler tells us, "she was let out of her pen, and had a cumbrous game with the butcher; gambolling and racing about the decks, till her house was made tidy, and then retreating to it as steady as an old pump bolt."[4]

Like the pig in the *Onyx*, the *Antelope*'s cow always received her daily ration of grog, a pint of water added to an empty grog tub.

There are numerous anecdotes in naval journals of seamen sharing their grog ration with a pet. Since the generous daily allowance of grog was about the only regular relief the men had from their hard life, they equated pleasure with liquor and assumed their pets felt the same way.

It was common for naval ships to return from tropical stations loaded with parrots, monkeys, and other exotic creatures, brought on board both for pets and to be sold when the ship eventually returned to England. In 1836 the *Trinculo* brought 240 parrots from Africa to Portsmouth.[5]

The special pet of the twenty-eight gun *Hind* in 1793 was a parrot "which had learned to imitate the calls of the boatswain's whistle. Sometimes the parrot would pipe an order so correctly as to throw his ship into momentary confusion." One day when a party of ladies were being hoisted on deck by means of a "whip," a chair roped to the mainyard, the parrot piped "Let go!" "The order being instantly obeyed, the unfortunate lady...was soused overhead in the sea!"[6] Fortunately for the parrot, the lieutenant commanding the *Hind* was not present, so the parrot went unpunished.

In the late 1780s, the seventy-four gun *Edgar*, Captain Charles Thompson, was known for her pet raven, and in the 1820s, the *Onyx*, Captain Boteler, carried a macaw that entertained itself by pulling all the buttons off any clothing left unguarded.[7]

Captain Paul Minchin, when in command of the *Resource* in the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1786, kept a pet black bear, and he and the bear often held wrestling matches, to the unease of Minchin's officers.[8]

Some commanding officers — Horatio Nelson among them — would not tolerate pets in their ships at sea because the animals fouled the decks and interfered with discipline. In a letter to Admiral John Jervis dated December 22, 1801, on board the *San Josef* in Cawsand Bay, Nelson wrote:

> I hope there will be orders to complete our complement, and the ship to be paid on Saturday. On Sunday we shall get rid of all the women, dogs, and pigeons, and on Wednesday, with the lark [but without the pigeons], I hope to be under sail for Torbay.[9]

Other captains relished having a variety of pets on board. Admiral Bartholomew James (1752-1828) recalled in his memoirs that when he commanded the brig

2. John Harvey Boteler, *Recollections of My Sea Life from 1808 to 1830* (London: Navy Records Society, 1942), p. 245.

3. Ibid., p. 81.

4. Ibid.

5. John C. Dalrymple Hay, *Lines from My Log-Books* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1898), p. 48.

6. Thomas Cochrane, *The Autobiography of a Seaman* (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1890), pp. 16-17.

7. James Anthony Gardner, *Above and Under Hatches* (London: Batchworth Press, 1955), pp. 66-67; Boteler, *Recollections*, p. 244.

8. Thomas Byam Martin, *Letters and Papers of Thomas Byam Martin*, ed. Richard Vesey Hamilton, 3 vols. (London: Navy Records Society, 1903), 1: 103.

9. Jedidiah Stephens Tucker, ed., *Memoirs of Admiral the Right Hon., The Earl of St. Vincent [John Jervis]*, 2 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1844), 2: 120.

El Corso on the Barbary Coast "at one time I had a curious collection of wild hogs, fawns, eagles, hawks, partridges, and wild pigeons running and flying about the ship; to which I may add innumerable land tortoises, some hawk's bill turtle, and turtle-doves."[10] In Captain Boteler's brig, the *Onyx*, in addition to the tame macaw and the grog-drinking pig, there was Boteler's own coati-mundi, "an affectionate creature" that always nestled at his feet when he took a moment to relax on deck and whistled a warning if anyone approached.[11]

There was also a coati-mundi on board the *Sceptre*, Captain Thomas Harvey, around 1812 in the North Sea fleet, as well as a long-tailed monkey. The monkey did not have a master but was the special pet of the whole crew and the close companion of a spaniel who belonged to one of the lieutenants.[12]

In 1749 in the sloop *Fly*, Purser Smith's pet monkey caused a disagreement between its master and the captain that almost resulted in the captain's court-martial. One afternoon Captain Wyatt was sick and trying to rest in his cabin when the chattering of three monkeys outside his cabin door awakened him. He threw open the door and ordered that they be carried to the foretop and left there until further notice, a punishment commonly allotted seamen and midshipmen.

It was night by the time the purser learned of this, and after retrieving his monkey from the mast, he was bumbling around in the dark on the way to putting it in his cabin when a sentry stopped him near the captain's door. The monkey began to scream, and Captain Wyatt rushed out of his cabin shouting "what rascal, scoundrel or villain had dared to insult him."[13] There stood the purser, who up to this point had been a good friend of the captain, clutching the shrieking monkey. Captain Wyatt ordered that the monkey be thrown overboard, and one of the officers wrestled the creature from the purser and threw it into the sea.

Following this unhappy incident, Smith took to drink, and antagonism between him and the captain grew to the point where the purser filed a complaint with the Admiralty against Captain Wyatt. Lord Anson, First Lord of the Admiralty, asked Admiral Hawke, Wyatt's flag officer, to arrange for a court martial, but the matter, for undisclosed reasons, was dropped before it reached that stage.

Not surprisingly, dogs were the most-loved pets. Naval memoirs abound in recollections of fondly-remembered dogs. (There are, strangely enough, almost no anecdotes about the many cats in naval ships, although cats often appear in the literature of the merchant marine.) Sir Joseph Banks, the scientist on Cook's first expedition to the South Pacific, brought his pair of greyhounds along, although the breed seems especially unsuited to shipboard life. When the crew celebrated crossing the line with the traditional visit of King Neptune and the dunking of all those who had never before crossed the equator, the dogs and cats were included in the list of those to be dunked. The greyhounds, however, escaped this indignity for Banks provided a forfeit of a quantity of brandy to exempt himself, his servants, and his dogs from the initiation rights.[14] (The *Endeavour*'s goat, as well-traveled as any old shell-back on board, was, of course, exempt.) The greyhounds did not make it back to England: Banks gave the male to an Indian rajah of one of the spice islands, and the female died shortly before the expedition returned home.

It should be noted that Banks and the officers of the *Endeavour* did not extend their affection to the Tahitian dogs they carried home as scientific specimens. These dogs were raised by the Tahitians for food, and some of the ship's officers acquired a taste for this meat while they were in Tahiti. During the passage home, "on one of the inferior officer's birthday," the officers celebrated the occasion by dining on the fresh meat of a Tahitian dog that had been bred on board.[15]

There were a most remarkable number of dog-fanciers in the *Salisbury*, flagship of Vice Admiral John Campbell, on the Newfoundland station in 1783-1785. When the *Salisbury* received orders to return to England, "the admiral having given permission for any person that pleased to take home a dog, seventy-five were actually embarked."[16] The fifty-gun *Salisbury* carried a complement of about 300, which means that there was approximately one dog to every four men. It can be assumed that most

10. John Knox Laughton, ed., *Journal of Rear-Admiral Bartholomew James, 1752-1828* (London: Navy Records Society, 1896), p. 367.

11. Boteler, *Recollections*, p. 238.

12. Ibid., pp. 29, 31.

13. Ruddock F. Mackay, *Admiral Hawke* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 106-107.

14. J. C. Beaglehole, ed., *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks, 1768-1771*, 2 vols., Trustees of the Public Library of New South Wales (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1962), 1: 175-176.

15. J. C. Beaglehole, ed., *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), 1, "The Voyage of the *Endeavour*, 1768-1771," p. 262, footnote 3, quotes Sydney Parkinson, *A Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas* (London, 1773), p. 122.

16. Gardner, *Above and Under Hatches*, p. 27.

of the dogs were of the Newfoundland breed. They would have adjusted well to naval life, for Newfoundlands were bred to thrive at sea; almost every ship in the Newfoundland fishing fleet carried a dog, and there are many recorded instances when one of the dogs rescued a drowning man from an icy sea.

Some of the dogs in the *Salisbury* were no doubt acquired to be sold in England, but others were the cherished companions of their masters. During the time the *Salisbury* was in port at St. John's, one of her seamen, a notorious hard-drinker by the name of Collins, became ill and was sent to the hospital on shore, and he took his dog with him. For a long time the authorities could not fathom how Collins continued to be drunk every night when the hospital was closely guarded against any liquor being brought in. At last his secret was discovered; his dog was bringing it to him. Each night Collins would tie an empty bottle to the dog's neck, place a shilling in its mouth, and send it off to the nearby pub where the old salt was well-known. The publican would fill the bottle with rum; only then would the dog drop the shilling and sneak back into the hospital, returning by way of a hole in the wall in order to avoid the sentry at the main entrance.[17]

The most poignant dog story is that of Admiral Cuthbert Collingwood and his dog Bounce who kept each other company for many lonely years at sea. Collingwood, one of the great heroes of the Royal Navy, was respected by officers and seamen alike for his steady courage and his kindness to the men he commanded, but he was known as a reticent leader and an aloof companion. His warmth and humor were reserved for his family at home in England and for Bounce, his constant companion at sea.

In 1790 Collingwood wrote to his sister that his young dog "delights in the ship" and "is a charming creature, everyone admires him, but he is grown as tall as the table I am writing on almost."[18] It seems likely that this newly-acquired puppy was Bounce, although he is not mentioned by name. If so, Bounce lived for nineteen years, and spent almost all those years at sea. It is certain that he was at sea with Collingwood at least from 1802 until his death seven years later.

For the last six years of Admiral Collingwood's life, when he commanded the Mediterranean fleet, he and Bounce never returned to England, and in one stretch of twenty-two months, master and dog did not once step on shore.

Collingwood wrote to his father-in-law on September 21, 1805, from the *Dreadnought* blockading Cadiz:

> As a ship will return to England in a few days, I will not lose the opportunity of writing to you, though I have little hope of an answer, for I never hear from England. Even the Admiralty seem to have abandoned me to my own devices... They [Napoleon's navy] have thirty-four sail of the line, and I have enough whenever they choose to try their skill. It would be a happy day that would relieve me from this perpetual cruising, which is really wearing me to a lath....
>
> How happy should I be could I but hear from home and know how my dear girls [his two young daughters] are going on! Bounce is my only pet now, and he is indeed a good fellow: he sleeps by the side of my cot, whenever I lie in one, until near the time of tacking, and then marches off to be out of the hearing of the guns for he is not reconciled to them yet.
>
> I am fully determined, if I can get home and manage it properly, to go on shore next spring for the rest of my life for I am very weary.[19]

Still at sea two years later, Collingwood tried to amuse his children with a little verse about Bounce, but it conveyed more loneliness than joy. On January 1, 1807, he wrote to his father-in-law:

> Tell the children that Bounce is very well and very fat, yet seems not to be content, and sighs so piteously these long evenings that I am obliged to sing him to sleep, and have sent them the song:
>
> Sigh no more, Bouncey, sigh no more,
> Dogs were deceivers never;
> Though n'er you put one foot on shore,
> True to your master ever.
>
> Then sigh not so, but let us go,
> Where dinner's daily ready,
> Converting all the sounds of woe
> To heigh Phiddy-diddy.[20]

On August 12, 1808, Collingwood wrote to his daughter Sarah: "Poor Bounce is growing very old. I once thought of having his picture taken, but he had the good

17. Ibid., p. 32.

18. Edward Hughes, ed., *The Private Correspondence of Admiral Lord Collingwood* (London: Navy Records Society, 1957), Letter 22, p. 28 and Letter 9, p. 26.

19. G. L. Newnham Collingwood, ed., *A Selection from the Public and Private Correspondence of Vice-admiral Lord Collingwood* (London: James Ridgway and Sons, 1837), pp. 111-112.

20. Ibid., p. 262.

fortune to escape that."[21] (Collingwood had recently sent home his own portrait which greatly distressed his wife because it showed her how old and tired he had grown since she had last seen him. He was sixty.)

Another year went by and still the admiral and his dog had not been relieved from their patrol. On June 17, 1809, Collingwood wrote to his wife from the *Ville de Paris*, on blockade off Toulon:

> I am sadly worn. Tough as I have been, I cannot last much longer. I have seen all the ships and men out two or three times. Bounce and I seem to be the only personages who stand our ground. Many about me are yielding to the fatigue and confinement of a life which is certainly not natural to man.[22]

Bounce was standing his ground with difficulty; in another letter written at that time, Collingwood reported that the poor dog was "confined some days with a sort of rheumatic gout."[23] It was probably his crippled state that resulted in his death two months later.

On August 13, 1809, still patrolling off Toulon, Collingwood wrote to his sister:

> My poor dog Bounce is dead. I am afraid he fell overboard in the night. He is a great loss to me. I have few comforts, but he was one, for he loved me. Everyone sorrows for him. He was wiser than [a good many] who hold their heads higher and was grateful [to those] who were kind to him.[24]

On March 7, 1810, Collingwood, having at last been given permission to return to England, died on the passage home, only seven months after the death of his dearly-loved companion Bounce.

21. Ibid., pp. 428-429.

22. Ibid., pp. 528-529.

23. Hughes, *The Private Correspondence*, Letter 178 to Collingwood's sister-in-law Mrs. Stead, June 15, 1809, p. 282.

24. Ibid., Letter 184, p. 291.

Suzanne J. Stark is a free-lance writer on maritime subjects and travel, currently living in Salem, Massachusetts. Her articles on sea history have appeared in The American Neptune *and* Seaport. *She is currently completing a book on women in the sailing ships of the Royal Navy.*

The Captures of the Schooner *Julia/Confiance*

ROBERT MALCOMSON

AMERICAN seaman Ned Myers and British Master's Mate David Wingfield were two young men who sailed into battle upon the waters of Lake Ontario during the 1812 war. With a unique twist, fate led both of them to trod the decks of an armed schooner named *Julia* and to tell their stories, years later, of how that vessel was captured, renamed *Confiance*, and then recaptured. The tenor of the narratives does not match the valour and drama contained in the accounts of the destruction of the *Guerriere* or the conquest of the *Chesapeake*. Still, Myers and Wingfield's anecdotes serve to illuminate events in an international conflict that has received relatively little attention from naval historians. Through their words, and the views of other participants, some much needed substance may be added to an understanding of the life and death struggle for control of Lake Ontario.

The armed schooner *Julia* was one of the dozen or so former merchant vessels in the squadron of American Commodore Isaac Chauncey during 1813. She had been built for the lake trade by Mathew McNair of Oswego and named for his daughter.[1] Of about 100 tons in burthen, the *Julia* was bought into the service shortly after Madison's declaration and outfitted with a pair of long guns (a 32-pounder and an 18-pounder) mounted on pivots and a pair of rarely used six pounders. During 1812 she saw action against British shipping in the St. Lawrence River and against the vessels of the Provincial Marine near Kingston. At the end of the first week of August 1813 the *Julia* was with the squadron off the Niagara Peninsula, becalmed within sight of the British ships, when a freak storm sank the schooners *Hamilton* and *Scourge*. Several of the survivors from that accident found their way to the *Julia*. One of them was a twenty-year old named Ned Myers.

Myers might have gone to a silent grave like countless other anonymous mariners had he not crewed, early in his career, with James Fenimore Cooper. In 1843 Cooper published *Ned Myers, or, A Life Before the Mast*, the story of Ned's seagoing adventures.[2] That share of notoriety was pale in comparison, however, to the international spotlight cast on the seaman in 1983 when an excerpt from Cooper's book appeared as part of an article written for *National Geographic* by Daniel A. Nelson, the Canadian who led the effort to find the wrecks of the *Hamilton* and *Scourge*.[3] Ned's dramatic account of the loss of the *Scourge* painted a startling view of the sudden violence of the accident. He and seven fellow crewmen were rescued by the *Julia*, the commander of which, a Lieutenant James Trant, quickly assigned them to stations and quarters. For Myers and his mates, however, there was another misadventure waiting right around the corner.

Although Chauncey was successful in adding the ships *Madison* and *General Pike* and the schooner *Lady of the Lake* to his squadron by the spring of 1813, former merchant schooners like the *Julia* still played a vital role in his tactics on Lake Ontario. At times they were a real burden since some of them were barely able to keep station and often needed to be towed by the larger vessels. The *Julia* appears to have been a good sailor, in the eyes of the Americans that is. Myers described her as being "a small, but a fast schooner, and had about forty souls on board. She was altogether a better craft than the *Scourge*, though destitute of any quarters, but a low rail with wash-boards and carrying fewer guns."[4] Of a further shortcoming, Myers commented, "So insufficient were the equipments of these small crafts, that we on board the

1. Franklin Hough, *History of Jefferson County in the State of New York, from the Earliest Period to the Present* (Albany: Joel Munsell, 1854), p. 465.

2. James Fenimore Cooper, ed., *Ned Myers, or, A Life before the Mast* (Philadelphia, 1843; reprint, Annapolis, 1989.)

3. Daniel A. Nelson, "Ghost Ships of the War of 1812," *National Geographic* 163, no. 3 (March, 1983): 289-313.

4. Cooper, *Ned Myers*, pp. 91-92.

Julia had neither square-sail nor studding-sails on board us."[5]

Despite her lack of a topsail, Commodore Chauncey gave the *Julia* a leading role on the evening of Tuesday, August 10, just two nights after the loss of the *Scourge* and *Hamilton*. After several days of tacking and feinting around each other between the mouth of the Niagara River and the lighthouse at York, the British and American squadrons were once more preparing for battle. Chauncey, pursued by Commodore Sir James Lucas Yeo, had arranged his vessels in two lines, with his less powerful schooners to windward of his more heavily armed craft and closer to Yeo. To head up that windward division, Chauncey had selected the *Julia*, a point that may attest to the schooner's superior sailing qualities. Chauncey's scheme was to draw Yeo into a close action with the schooners, which would then fade towards the Commodore's division and pass through his line. If Yeo followed their leeward movement he would find himself caught within point blank range of the heavy American guns.

Just after 11:00 p.m., Yeo's leading ships began to engage the schooners. Seeing the first step in his plan working, Chauncey gave the order for the windward division to move to leeward. Inexplicably, the *Julia* and a second schooner, the *Growler*, tacked towards the wind, exactly the opposite of what they were supposed to do. Their capture seemed inevitable unless Chauncey did something quickly, which he did, but without much conviction, as his record shows:

> Filled the main-topsail [of the *General Pike*] and edged away two points to lead the enemy down, not only to engage him to more advantage, but to lead him from the *Growler* and *Julia*. He [Yeo], however, kept his wind until he completely separated those two vessels from the rest of the squadron, exchanged a few shot with his ship as he passed without injury to us, and made sail after our two schooners. Tacked and stood after him. At twelve, midnight, finding that I must either separate from the rest of the squadron or relinquish the hope of saving the two which had separated, I reluctantly gave up the pursuit, rejoined the squadron then to leeward, and formed the line on the starboard tack. The firing was continued between the two schooners and the enemy's fleet until about one a. m., when I presume, they were obliged to surrender to a force so much their superior ....
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> The loss of the *Growler* and *Julia*, in the manner in which they have been lost, is mortifying in the extreme, and although their commanders disobeyed my positive orders I am willing to believe that it arose from an error in judgment and excess of zeal to do more than was required of them, thinking probably that the enemy intended to bring us to a general action and they thought by gaining the wind of him they would have it in their power to annoy or injure him more than they could by forming to leeward of our line."[6]

Captain Isaac Chauncey (1772-1840) was among the most highly regarded American naval officers when he was placed in charge of the Great Lakes squadrons in September 1812. Photo courtesy of the Toronto Metropolitan Library.

While Commodore Chauncey was tentatively maneuvering to rescue his misguided schooners, Ned Myers was finding himself in a new life-endangering

5. Ibid, p. 97.

6. Isaac Chauncey to Secretary of the Navy William Jones, August 13, 1813, in National Archives and Records Service (U. S. A.), "Letters received by the Secretary of the Navy: Captains' Letters: 1805-1861," vol. 30 (Microfilm Publication: M125, Roll 30, Reel 8), Item 99. See also E. A. Cruikshank, ed. *The Documentary History of the Campaign Upon the Niagara Frontier 1812-14*, 10 vols. (Welland, 1902-1908), 7: 17-18.

Captain Sir James Lucas Yeo (1782-1818) had seen considerable action against the French in South America and along the European coastline before he was sent to the Canadian Lakes in March, 1813. Photo courtesy of the Toronto Metropolitan Library.

predicament. His description affords us the tack-by-tack capture of the *Julia*:

> It must have been near midnight, when the enemy began to fire at the *Fair American*, the stemmost vessel of our weather line. We were a long bit ahead of her, and did not engage for some time .... After a while, the four sternmost schooners of our line kept off, according to orders, but the *Julia* and *Growler* still stood on. I suppose the British kept off, too, at the same time, as the commodore had expected. At any rate, we found ourselves so well up with the enemy, that, instead of bearing up, Mr. Trant tacked in the *Julia*, and the *Growler* came round with us. We now began to fire on the headmost ships of the enemy which were coming on towards us .... The enemy answered us, and, from that moment, he seemed to give up all thoughts of the vessels to leeward of him, turning his whole attention on the *Julia* and *Growler*.
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> The English fleet stood on the same tack, until it had got between us and our own line, when it went about in chase of us .... As for keeping to windward, we had no difficulty — occasionally brailing our foresail, and even edging off, now and then, to be certain that our shot would tell. In moderate weather, the *Julia* was the fastest vessel in the American squadron, the *Lady of the Lake* excepted; and *Growler* was far from being dull. Had there been room, I make no doubt we might have kept closer to John Bull, with the greatest ease; touching him up with our long, heavy guns, from time to time, as it suited us. I have often thought that Mr. Trant forgot we were between the enemy and the land, and that he fancied himself at sea ....
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> ... It happened that the *Growler* was a short distance to windward of us, when we first became aware of the nature of the critical situation. She uphelm and, running down within hail, Lieutenant Deacon informed Mr. Trant he had just sounded in two fathoms, and that he could see lights ashore .... "What do you think we best do?" asked Lieutenant Deacon. "Run the gauntlet," called Mr. Trant. "Very well, sir: which shall lead?" "I'll lead the van," answered Mr. Trant, and then all was settled.
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> We now up helm, and steered for a vacancy among the British vessels. The enemy seemed to expect us, for they formed two lines, leaving us room to enter between them .... When we entered between the two lines of the enemy, we were within short canister-range, and got it smartly on both tacks .... Both of us kept up a heavy fire, swivelling our guns round, so as not to neglect any one .... For a few moments we fared pretty well; but we were no sooner well entered between the lines, than we got it, hot and hard. Our rigging began to come down about our ears, and one shot passed a few feet above our heads, cutting both topsail-sheets, and scooping a bit of wood as big as a thirty-two pound shot, out of the foremast. ... Soon after, the tack of the mainsail caught fire, from a wad of one of the Englishmen; for, by this time, we were close at it. I think, indeed, that the nearness of the enemy alone prevented our decks from being entirely swept. The grape and canister were passing over our heads like hail, and the foresail was literally in ribands. The halyards being gone, the main sail came down by the run, and the jib settled as low as it could. The topsail-yard was on the cap, and the schooner now came up into the wind.
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> All this time, we kept working the guns. The old man went from one gun to the other, pointing each himself, as it was ready. He was at the eighteen when things were near the worst, and, as he left her, he called out to her crew to "fill her — fill her to the muzzle!" He then came to our gun, which was already loaded with one round, a stand of grape, and a case of canister shot. This I know, for I put them all in with my own hands. At this time, the *Melville*, a [14-gun] brig of the enemy's, was close up with us, firing upon

our decks from her fore-top. She was coming up on our larboard quarter, while a large schooner was nearing us fast on the starboard. Mr. Trant directed our gun to be elevated so as to sweep the brig's forecastle, and then called out, "Now's the time, lads — fire at the b——s! Fire away at 'em!" But no match was to be found! Some one had thrown both overboard. By this time the brig's jib-boom was over our quarter, and the English were actually coming on board of us. The enemy were now all round us. The *Wolfe* [Yeo's flagship, a 21-gun corvette], herself, was within hail, and still firing. The last I saw of any of our people, was Mallet passing forward, and I sat down on the slide of the thirty-two, myself, sullen as a bear. Two or three of the English passed me, without saying anything. Even at this instant, a volley of bullets came out of the brig's foretop, and struck all around me; some hitting the deck, and others the gun itself. Just then, an English officer came up and said — "What are you doing here, you Yankee?" I felt exceedingly savage, and answered, "Looking at your fools firing upon their own men." "Take that for your sauce," he said, giving me a thrust with his sword as he spoke. The point of the cutlass just passed my hip-bone, and gave me a smart flesh-wound.

... I now went down below. First, I got a bandage on my wound, to stop the bleeding, and then I had an opportunity to look about me. A party of English was below, and some of our men having joined them, the heads were knocked out of two barrels of whiskey. The kids and bread-bags were procured, and all hands, without distinction of country, sat down to enjoy themselves. Some even began to sing, and, as for good-fellowship, it was just as marked, as it would have been in a jollification ashore.

In a few minutes the officer who had hurt me jumped down among us. The instant he saw what we were at, he sang out — "Halloo! Here's high life below stairs!" Then he called to another officer to bear a hand down and see the fun. Some one sung out from among ourselves to "dowse the glim." The lights were put out, and then the officers capsized the whiskey. While this was doing, most of the Englishmen ran up the forward hatch. We *Julia* all remained below.

In less than an hour we were sent on board the enemy's vessels. I was carried to the *Royal George* [like the *Wolfe*, a 21-gun corvette] ... In July, while I still belonged to the *Scourge*, I had been sent with a boat's crew, under Mr. Bogardus, on board an English flag of truce that had come into Harbour. While in this vessel, our boat's crew were "hail-fellows-well-met" with the Englishmen, and we had agreed among us to take care of each other, should either side happen to be taken. I had been on the *Royal George* but a short time, when two of these very men came up to me with some grog and some grub; and next morning they brought me my bitters. I saw no more of them, however, except when they came to shake hands with me at the gang-way, as we were leaving the ship.[7]

The late night maneuvers near the Canadian shore were conducted in full view of the American squadron and elicited commentaries other than those of Chauncey and Myers. An anonymous officer sent a letter to the editor of *The United States Gazette* in Philadelphia in which he pictured the commodore's actions in a less than laudatory light: "Every gun was pointed, every match ready in hand, and the red British ensign plainly to be descried by the light of the moon, when to our utter astonishment the Commodore wore and stood S. E., leaving Sir James L. Yeo to exult in the capture of two schooners, and in our retreat, which was certainly a very fortunate one for him."[8]

One American midshipman, also anonymous, minced fewer words in describing the commodore as being "thunder struck (and no doubt frightened)" and his conduct "highly censurable (you know he is a peace man)"[9] while leading the squadron early in August 1813. Of the loss of the *Julia* and *Growler*, this critical young observer commented: "We kept closing, two of our Schooners were in the midst of the enemys fleet when the Com. wore ship and left the enemy! The two schooners were taken. They fought like heroes and it is feared every man was killed."[10]

One of those "heroes," Ned Myers, was interrogated shortly after being taken aboard the British ship. Despite his fears of being recognized as a former British subject (Ned was born in Quebec and raised in Nova Scotia), he was able to portray himself as a hapless American mariner. Along with his mates, he was soon landed with the other prisoners at York and, after a brief detention, marched off to Kingston. From there some of the crew of the *Julia* were able to escape their imprisonment and return to Sackets Harbor where they gave a glorious explanation of their capture, quoting the British as having praised their conduct and "the desperate valor of Trant and Deacon."[11] Ned Myers was not among the escapees. He

7. Cooper, *Ned Myers*, pp. 95-100.

8. September 6, 1813; Cruikshank, *Documentary History*, pp. 28-29.

9. Comments found in an enclosure sent by J. Jones to Navy Secretary William Jones, March 25, 1814 in "Captains' Letters," vol. 35, (M125, Reel 13), Item 70.

10. Ibid.

11. *The War Journal* 1, no. 28, (September 17, 1813): 3. Another story, besides Ned Myers' and that of the escaped *Julias*, issued from the capture of the schooner. Thomas Goldsmith was mentioned by Myers as one of the few survivors of the *Scourge* who was picked up by the *Julia*. He was subsequently captured along with Myers, but was detained by the British at Kingston since it was discovered that he had been born a

and the other prisoners were sent to Quebec and from there to Halifax. He spent the balance of the war as a prisoner or laborer aboard various British ships at Halifax and Bermuda and in the large compound on Melville Island in Halifax Harbor.

In the meantime, the schooner *Julia* continued to be caught up in the events of the lake war. Commodore Yeo considered her and the *Growler* "in every respect fit for His Majesty's Service,"[12] although he was concerned that crewing the schooners "will take men from the ships."[13] He wasted no time in having the schooners surveyed; the board met on August 21, the same day that he had written to the Governor General with the idea.[14] The survey board, convened by Captain Richard O'Conor, acting commissioner of the shipyard at Kingston, described the *Julia* as being about ninety-six tons register and worth, along with her sails, rigging and materials, about £1556. The *Growler* was rated as being larger (109 tons), but not worth as much (£1471).[15] The prospects of prize money exceeding three thousand pounds must have been welcome news to the officers and men of the squadron since the Lake Ontario station offered rather limited opportunities to enhance personal wealth by the capture of enemy shipping and materiel.

The *Julia* was taken into the British squadron and renamed His Majesty's Schooner *Confiance*, perhaps in memory of the 20-gun sloop Commodore Yeo had commanded earlier in his career. Likewise was the *Growler* added to the squadron and renamed the *Hamilton*. It appears that the *Julia/Confiance* was included at first as part of Yeo's line of battle. By September 15, however, he had formed an opinion of the little craft that was decidedly different from that of Ned Myers or Isaac Chauncey. From his cabin aboard the *Wolfe*, on station near Kingston, he wrote to Governor General Sir George Prevost with an update of his latest maneuvers:

> As the wind is so light and variable and I wish to get rid of the *Confiance*, who only retards me when the enemy have the weather-gage, and on all occasions gives me more anxiety and trouble than she is worth, I have sent her in to have her long 32-pounder fitted in the *Beresford* [a twelve gun schooner], which may enable that schooner to be of some use and leave the other an excellent vessel to go with the convoys, as she will take half a cargo herself. This alteration ought not to take more than *twelve hours* from the time they arrive at Kingston, as I have sent all the shipwrights in the squadron aboard them to work even on their passage in.[16]

On September 17 Master's Mate David Wingfield was sent on board the *Confiance* to prepare her for a new role

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British citizen. A deposition recorded by Royal Navy Lieutenant Miller Worsley (who led the attack against the schooners *Tigress* and *Scorpion* in September, 1814 on Lake Huron) details Goldsmith's birth in Ireland and emigration with his parents to New York at age six. He joined the American navy and later volunteered for the lakes service. (National Archives of Canada, British Military Records, RG8, C series, vol. 731, [Microfilm Reel C-3244], p. 191). Goldsmith was placed under "close confinement," with an apparent threat made by the British that he would be tried for treason at Kingston or sent to England. When news of this development reached Chauncey he wrote to Yeo for an explanation and also to Washington for direction. (Chauncey to Jones, October 12, 1813, plus enclosures: Yeo to Chauncey, August 24, 1813 and Chauncey to Yeo, August 24, 1813, "Captains' Letters," vol. 31 [M125, Reel 9], Item 161.) Chauncey later received instructions from Washington to relay the message to Yeo that a British prisoner had been put under close confinement as a hostage until the Goldsmith affair was settled. (Chauncey to Jones, November 23, 1813, plus enclosure: Chauncey to Yeo, November 23, 1813, "Captains' Letters," vol. 32 [M125, Reel 10], Item 123.) What became of Thomas Goldsmith is uncertain at this point, although there is reason to believe his special detention status was dropped. It appears that Governor General Sir George Prevost heard of the situation and queried Yeo about his motivation for selecting Goldsmith for special treatment, since Yeo explained his reasoning as being "solely with a view to frighten away and deter any English Seamen Entering their [the American] Service, as there is nothing criminal or aggravating in this Lads case consequently he has never been kept in confinement." (Yeo to Prevost, December 19, 1813, NAC, BMR, RG8, C series, vol. 731 [Microfilm Reel C-3244], pp. 189-190.) Yeo's tone in this letter to his commanding officer was less aggressive than that in his first letter to Chauncey on August 24.

12. Yeo to Prevost, August 21, 1813 NAC RG8 C Series, vol. 730, (Microfilm Reel C-3243), p. 95.

13. Yeo to Prevost, August 11, 1813, 1:30 p.m., Ibid., p. 82. See also Cruikshank, *Documentary History* 7, p. 7.

14. Yeo to Prevost, August 21, 1813, NAC, BMR, RG8, C series, vol. 730, [Microfilm Reel C-3243], p. 95.

15. Survey order of R. O'Conor, August 21, 1813, NAC, RG8 C Series, vol. 732, (Microfilm Reel C-3244), p. 36. It is doubtful if Yeo and his men ever saw the prize money. On February 16, 1814 (Ibid., p. 36) he wrote to the Governor General (enclosing the survey mentioned above) asking if the purchase money for the schooners (re-captured by the Americans in the meantime) would be paid. His query was repeated the following May 17 (Ibid., p. 163) and curiously ended up on the desk of General Gordon Drummond. (Drummond to Freer, June 16, 1814, Ibid., vol. 733, pp. 15-16) For Yeo, this was not a unique situation. In 1809 he had played a key role in the reduction of the French colony of Cayenne and was therefore eligible for a hearty share of close to £50,000 of potential prize money. Even ten years after Yeo's death (he died at sea in 1818), the leader of that expedition, Sir Sidney Smith, was trying to obtain those funds on the behalf of Yeo's sisters. See John Barrow, *The Life and Correspondence of Admiral Sir William Sidney Smith*, 2 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1848), 1: 336-350.

16. Sir James Yeo to Sir George Prevost, Sept 15, 1813, NAC, RG8, C Series, vol. 730, pp. 164-169, and in Cruikshank, *Documentary History*, pp. 131-132.

The schooner *Julia* was involved when Commodore Chauncey's squadron of former merchant ships and the brig *Oneida* pursued the British corvette *Royal George* into the safety of Kingston Harbour during November 1812. Photo courtesy of the Toronto Public Library.

as armed escort. Wingfield was one of the two dozen young gentlemen who had sailed under Commodore Yeo aboard the troopship *Woolwich* to Canada during the previous spring.[17] He was 24 years of age, a seven year veteran of the Royal Navy and, like his peers, was anxious for opportunities that might lead to promotion. Already he had commanded a small schooner and served on Yeo's flagship, the *Wolfe*. With the *Confiance* he joined the convoy that sailed from Kingston on September 19 and, near Burlington, nine days later kept station with the British squadron when it engaged Chauncey's ships in the action that became known as the "Burlington Races." Following that episode, a report reached the British that Commodore Chauncey had embarked military forces at Niagara for an attack on Kingston. Commodore Yeo set sail almost immediately for the British headquarters. Soldiers in the German De Watteville Regiment were gathered at York to be convoyed to Kingston in the wake of the main warships. That convoy, including besides the *Confiance*, the cutter *Drummond*, the sloop *Betsey* and the

17. Wingfield's story is told in his memoir "Four Years on the Lakes of Canada in 1813, 1814, 1815 and 1816; by a Naval Officer under the command of the late Sir James Lucas Yeo, Commodore and Commander in Chief of H. M. Ships and vessels of War employed on the Lakes. Also nine months as Prisoner of War in the United States of America," a handwritten manuscript, NAC, MG 24, F18.

schooners *Hamilton*, *Mary Ann*, *Lady Gore* and *Enterprise*, was fated for disaster. Wingfield's reminiscence provides a clear account of that voyage:

> We sailed on 2 October [from Burlington Bay] and the following morning anchored in York Bay. The Lieutenant Commanding [Hector McLean of the *Drummond*] went on shore to learn what time we should expect the soldiers. He found they wouldn't be ready till the evening. They came on board about 9 p.m. and we weighed anchor, with light airs and a very thick fog. But we had to wait a long time as one of the merchant vessels grounded on the bar.
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> As Monday's [October 4] sun got power; the fog dispersed, and we were all together, except one small sloop which was nearly over to the American shore. They'd steered a wrong course during the night. We had a calm the whole of Tuesday, but in the evening a breeze sprang up and gradually increased during the night. My schooner and *Hamilton*, the other American prize, had to stay under easy sail to allow the other vessels to keep in touch. Each of us also had a vessel in tow. Towards noon [Tuesday, October 5] we had strong breezes with every appearance of a gale. At four o'clock it did blow a gale, and the wind, which had hitherto been in our favour, suddenly chopped round dead against us when were about 30 miles from Kingston. Soon after we saw vessels rounding Long Point which, for some time, we supposed to be our fleet. But soon, when we saw through our glasses that they were under a heavy press of sail, we counted nine of them, and knew them to be the enemy in chase of us. [Chauncey's *Pike*, the *Sylph*, a new schooner, and the *Lady of the Lake* left the others behind and quickly closed on the British.]
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> We left out our reefs and made all possible sail. But we were only in ballast trim, and there was a short, heavy sea breaking. That drove us to leeward, and as there was no place to run for shelter, it was certain we would be captured. As that was the case, I ordered all arms and ammunition, and whatever stores could be got at, to be thrown overboard and destroyed. I asked the Master of the schooner [Theophilus Sampson of the *Betsey*] I had in tow to be ready to send his men on board us, and set his vessel on fire; for that purpose she was hauled up to our quarter, and when cleared, she was set on fire and cut adrift.
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> About half past six the American schooner *Sylph* of 14 guns ran up within hail, fired a shot ahead of us and as their flagship *Pike* was close astern of her I hauled down our pendant and hove to. Four other of our vessels to windward had also struck by that time. The date was 5 October, 1813.
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> I can't describe my feelings at the time — all hope of promotion vanished at once — I expected the worst of treatment — and to make matters worse I was without a dollar in my pocket. I only had the paper currency of the Province, called Army Bills, which carried a premium per day according to their value. By way of soothing my feelings too, while I'd been busily employed on deck, one of the men below had plentifully regaled himself with rum; and, just as the American officer came on board to take possession of his prize, he staggered against me — whether by accident or design I don't know — and would have knocked me overboard had I not been caught by another seaman.
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> I sullenly threw my sword and belt on the deck and walked down to the cabin. Being alone I either sat or laid down, and could scarcely refrain from shedding tears. However I wasn't allowed to enjoy my feelings for long — if it could be called enjoyment — as the American Lieutenant came into the cabin. I think he saw my agitation, which I was trying to hide, for he came up to me and offered his hand.
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> "Don't regret it too much," he said. "Here's your sword. It may not be long before I'm in the same situation."
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> ... About half past nine the same evening I was sent on board their Commodore's ship where I found both a Lieutenant of the Royal Navy [McLean], and my old messmate [Master's Mate James Jackson] who'd commanded *Hamilton*. He'd been aboard some time. As I had been expected, the officers of their ship were waiting supper, and a cabin was prepared for me in their gun room, among their lieutenants, who, I must say, did treat us in a most handsome and gentlemanly way.[18]

When news of the capture reached Sir James Yeo he was understandably displeased, as he expressed plainly to Sir George Prevost on October 7:

> It is with much regret I find the Convoy Captured by the Enemy's Squadron — particularly as it proceeded from the obstinacy or stupidity of Lieut't Macklean who instead of keeping in with our shore as he was ordered and even recommended the evening he was captured — stood over to the Real Ducks Islands and the wind coming from the NNE he could not regain his own shore.
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> The *Enterprise* which was the worst sailing Vessel, came in safe — she was in tow of the *Hamilton* at the time they saw the Enemy and recommended Lieut't Macklean to go inside the False Ducks [a group of islands closer to the shore] — or be cast off — which they did, and had they all followed his example, would have escaped also.[19]

18. Ibid., pp. 18-20.
19. Yeo to Prevost, October 7, 1813, NAC, RG8, C series

Yeo's perfect hindsight did David Wingfield no good, although the young officer's period of captivity turned out to be a less arduous experience than that of Ned Myers. Wingfield travelled with his fellow prisoners in relative comfort and, on parole in Massachusetts, enjoyed a fair amount of freedom. He was exchanged during the summer of 1814; one year after his capture Wingfield was aboard the first rate ship-of-the-line *St. Lawrence* when she made her maiden voyage up Lake Ontario.

There are obvious parallels in the experiences of Ned Myers and David Wingfield. Both were filled with fatalistic gloom at the prospect of impending capture by the enemy. Each man saw how the lapse of discipline caused by the turnover of power allowed the crews to cast off the bonds of discipline and raid the liquor supply. Taken from the schooner they received a compassionate welcome from fellow mariners who knew all too well the fickle nature of fate. They survived their imprisonment and detention without losing their zest for life and later returned to the sea, or to the lakes, as in Wingfield's case.

For the schooner herself, the war was all but over. Isaac Chauncey was very pleased with the turn of events on October 5, especially since it served to ameliorate the results of his unsatisfactory encounter with Yeo at Burlington the week before. The capture had netted him five vessels and 152 prisoners, most of whom were meant for the defense of Kingston.[20] The *Confiance* was renamed *Julia* and pressed back into service, after being valued as a prize to the tune of $4,825.84.[21] She was with Chauncey's squadron when he sailed to Niagara on November 13 to embark General William Henry Harrison and 1,400 of his troops for delivery to Sackets Harbor. A violent storm erupted at the onset of the return voyage, and the squadron was separated, some of the vessels being feared lost. The *Julia* was one of these until she arrived three days after the flagship had. Once more she had had a close scrape with the enemy as Chauncey explained. "The *Julia* suffered extremely in the gale and drifted within a Mile of the head of the Lake where she anchored with both anchors and fortunately rode out the gale in sight of the Enemy's camp at Burlington Bay."[22]

The competition between Yeo and Chauncey to build bigger and stronger vessels prompted the American commodore to propose the construction of three warships during the 1813/14 winter. To that list he decided in December to add a large schooner "in lieu of all the heavy sailing schooners, for really they are no manner of service except to carry troops or use as gunboats."[23] Later that month he decided to de-commission the *Julia* altogether. His reasoning: "With the view to promote the public interest, add to the safety of the fleet and insure a more rigid and a better discipline amongst the officers and men I have thought it best to put out of commission the schooners mentioned below, and have distributed the officers and men on board the larger Vessels of the fleet."[24] With that resolution, Chauncey consolidated his crews for the winter and put the *Julia* and three other schooners into ordinary. She appears on a list of the squadron the following March beside the number thirteen and without a commander.[25] It seems likely that the schooner spent the rest of the war moored by the shore at Sackets, her part in the events of the Great Lakes war apparently at an end.

Although neither Ned Myers nor David Wingfield appear to have had much of an impact on the shaping of events during the 1812 war, their stories provide us with a clear, and rare, view of life aboard the schooner *Julia/Confiance* when that little vessel was caught up in the struggle for control of Lake Ontario. Such investigations into the experiences of the men and vessels they sailed will help to illuminate the true nature of the Great Lakes war. Without a doubt there are scores of similar stories still to be uncovered in the less busy corners of libraries and archives.

(Microfilm Reel C-3244), vol. 730, p. 81., and in William Wood, ed., *Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812*, 3 vol. (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1920-1928), 2: 209-210.

20. Chauncey to Jones, October 8, 1813, "Captains' Letters," vol. 31 (M125, Reel 9), Item 126. See also Cruikshank, *Documentary History*, pp. 209-211.

21. *American State Papers*, vol. 23, *Naval Affairs*, vol. 1, p. 545.

22. Chauncey to Jones, November 24, 1813 "Captains' Letters," vol. 32, (M125, Reel 10), Item 126.

23. Chauncey to Jones, December 17, 1813, "Captains' Letters," vol. 33, (M125, Reel 11), Item 67. See also Cruikshank, *Documentary History*, vol. 9, p. 5.

24. Chauncey to Jones, December 24, 1813, "Captains' Letters," Ibid., Item 101.

25. Jones to John Gaillard, March 4, 1814, *American State Papers*, vol. 23, *Naval Affairs*, vol. 1, p. 308.

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Illness and Death in a Maritime City: Gdańsk in the Seventeenth Century

MARIA BOGUCKA

ONE of the more unfortunate conditions of life in an early modern maritime city was exposure to contagious disease. Seamen and harbor workers faced many occupational diseases and hazards in connection with their jobs, and plague was more prevalent in ports than in other urban centers. In addition, a maritime city had to cope with large numbers of people who came for a short stay and fell ill. Such transients were a serious problem for port cities because they lacked family or friends to attend them. Not surprisingly, the poor were much more exposed to the unfavorable factors of living in a big maritime city than were the rich. Thus, illness and death were social phenomena that met with a social response from municipal authorities as well as individual town dwellers.

One such maritime city was seventeenth century Gdańsk. When acute illnesses disrupted an individual's ability to undertake normal activities and required special care, Gdańsk responded with a whole cluster of actions, practices, and beliefs with which to deal with illness and death. This area of study is a very broad and rather poorly understood one; it is inevitable that some problems will be signalled only and left for further research.

ENVIRONMENT AND DISEASE

Gdańsk was a prosperous town of over 100,000 people in the first half of the seventeenth century and over 50,000 in the second half. It had a diversified commercial and industrial economy and was built around one of the most animated Baltic ports. Since the town offered excellent opportunities for social and economic advancement, its population was extremely dense. The town's area of little more than 200 hectares was literally crammed with permanent inhabitants as well as with seamen, craftsmen, foreign merchants and artists, wandering journeymen, Polish noblemen and their servants, foreign diplomats, and poor persons of both sexes seeking temporary jobs. Sanitation facilities were inadequate — only a few houses had running water, special bathrooms, and well arranged privies. The level of personal hygiene was low. Most of the people lived close together: five or six persons in one room, sleeping by two or three in one bed, sharing towels, eating from one bowl. As a result, contagious diseases were easily spread either by direct contact between people via the respiratory system or by use of the same utensils, or tranferred by insects such as fleas and lice. Venereal diseases were propagated largely because of the influx to Gdańsk of single men, who during their stay in the city tended to amuse themselves in brothels. The coastal climate of Gdańsk — cold and damp — as well as the poor conditions of housing, insufficient heating, and the use of cellars for the habitation of the poor, resulted in a high frequency of rheumatic and pulmonary ailments. Dirt in the kitchens as well as stale food caused many digestive troubles.

The frequency of bodily injuries resulted from the rough conditions of daily life as well as from the conditions of work in the navy, at the harbor, or in the workshops of Gdańsk. Conditions were especially dangerous aboard ship. Contagious diseases, particularly a form of typhoid called "deck fever," raged easily because of the overcrowding of the vessels and the extreme lack of hygiene. A monotonous diet caused scurvy, with its acute form leading to death. Contaminated food and mouldy water harmed the digestive system. Hard work, done without suitable protection, caused many accidents, and activities such as hauling up an anchor, maneuvering sails, pumping water, and climbing masts were particularly dangerous. The workers who helped in the harbor to load and unload goods, to clean ships, to break ice, etc., were also seriously affected. Chill, dampness, and insufficient or rarely-changed clothing caused severe colds, bronchitis, and rheumatism. Broken bones and ruptures were frequent, and cases of drowning

Table 1: Frequency of Disease in Gdańsk
1600-1699*

Type of Disease	Mentions in Sources (%)	Resultant Deaths (%)
Plague	40	39
Complications of Childbearing	25	25
Injuries Caused by Accident or Violence	15	8
Venereal Disease (syphilis, gonorrhea) or Other Contagious Diseases (smallpox, typhoid, pulmonary disease, influenza, diptheria)	6	5
Heart and Circulatory Disease, Heart Failure, Stroke, Embolism	5	4
Diseases Caused by Poor Diet or Climate (scurvy, anemia, rheumatism, gout, podagra)	4	3
Opthalmic Diseases, Cataract	3	—
Mental Diseases	2	—
TOTAL	100	84

* Based on 292 cases from the Archives of Gdańsk 300, Records of the Burghermasters of Gdańsk, 1/19-96 and 5/13-115.

were not unusual. Bodily injuries were also caused by violence and temper, common in Gdańsk as in every harbor, where seamen and hired workers, after receiving their salaries, used to drink heavily and quarrel among themselves.[1]

But seamen were not the only ones in Gdańsk subject to illness and injury. Contagious diseases spread easily from ships and harbor premises to other parts of the city, where the problem of contagion was compounded both by malnutrition among the poor and overnutrition among the rich. Both phenomena resulted in many severe diseases, often leading to acute illness, disability, or even death. The typical diet for the poor inhabitants of Gdańsk, composed mostly of grains and lacking in vitamins and protein, resulted in anemia, scurvy, and general low individual resistance to contagious diseases. Overnutrition — too much meat, animal fat, and alcohol — caused heart and circulatory troubles among the wealthy. The general lack of hygiene caused many digestive troubles and ailments, among them dysentery and diarrhea.

Such reflections could be applied, however, not only to Gdańsk but to any large maritime city on the threshold of modern times. It is therefore important to establish what types of diseases, and their frequency and intensity, actually plagued Gdańsk as a result of its environmental situation. Table 1 above examines the types of illnesses described in existing seventeenth century sources. Of those mentioned in the sources, only complications of childbirth, opthalmic disease, and mental disease could be regarded as phenomena not connected with environmental factors. The frequency and intensity of the rest resulted without doubt from the special conditions of living in a large maritime city, where opportunities for economic and social advancement entailed accumulated risks to health and life.

The Mental Response to Illness

There were two characteristic responses to illness in seventeenth century Gdańsk, one resulting from the pervasiveness of religion on the mentality of the people, and the second from the lively contacts between "learned" and "popular" culture. In most cases, both attitudes were fused into one system of beliefs which enabled individuals to cope with the terrific phenomena of illness and death that they experienced in daily life.

As faithful and eager adherents of the Lutheran or Calvinist creeds, the inhabitants of Gdańsk saw illness as

1. See M. Bogucka, *Gdańscy ludzie morza w XVI-XVIII w. [Seamen of Gdańsk in the Sixteenth - Eighteenth Centuries]* (Gdańsk, 1984), p. 82 ff.

God's punishment for their sins and, at the same time, as an antechamber to death, the gate leading to a better existence.[2] Their striving for a stoic response to suffering was linked to the idea of predestination, popular in Gdańsk not only among Calvinists. Pain was regarded as the inevitable way to eternity. Such attitudes were propagated each Sunday in every church by preachers, and were expressed in popular religious literature as well as in funeral panegyrics, printed on the occasion of the burials of rich burghers. They can also be found in more private sources: wills, correspondence, and diaries. Were these truly the attitudes of average individuals toward illness? Were they really felt during the terrible experience of dying? The question is not easy to answer.

It was, however, logical to conclude that an illness inflicted by God could not be cured without God's consent and help. Medical treatment was therefore accompanied by prayer, and some doctors were bold enough to claim that God was their special ally. An interesting example is a leaflet published by Dr. Jonathan Aenophilius at the end of the sixteenth century advertising his drug "*Im namen des aller Obersten Arztes Jesu Christi unsers Seligmachers*" ("In the name of the highest of all physicians, Jesus Christ our saviour"), which declares: "*Es sey menniglich offenbar, dass ich/Aenophilius/durch Gottes Gnade mit mir gebracht habe ein köstlich, lieblich und wolbewertes Kunststück der Artzney ... und ist ein fürtrefflicher Schatz, Menschliche Gesundheit und langes leben durch Göttlichen Beystand damit zu erhalten*" ("It has been made known in many ways that I, Aenophilius, by the grace of God have brought with me a delicious, pleasant and valuable masterpiece of pharmacy ... and it is an excellent treasure to receive with it human health and a long life through divine assistance"). The advertisement includes a poem in which the author states clearly the idea that the treatment administered by him has God's special blessing:

> Diese Artzney so künstlich, subtil und rein
> Findst man bey mir Jonas Enophilii allein
> Heil ich durch Gottes Beystand...
> Wer Gott vertraut und meiner Kunst
> Brauch meines Rats ist nicht umsonst...
> Welche Krancken begeren heil und gesund
> Die bitten Gott umb reine glückliche Stund
> Und kommen zu mir in Jesus Namen.
> Nostra Deus feodis affligit corpora morbis
> Ad vitae it revocet nos melioris iter.[3]
>
> (This medicine so artful, subtle and pure
> Can only be obtained from me Jonas Enophili
> I heal through God's assistance...
> He who trusts God and my art.
> The use of my advice is not in vain...
> Any invalids who desire health
> Let them pray to God for a pure happy hour
> and come to me in Jesus' name.
> God afflicts our bodies with foul diseases
> And let him call us to the way of a better life.)

Religious attitudes to illness were confirmed by some "learned" theories, in which health and illness were regarded as phenomena subordinated to astral influences. Renaissance medicine had fortified the traditional belief in the unity of nature, a unity that encompassed God and the stars at one extreme and man and the terrestrial world at the other. Along with this there was a continued belief in the truth of the macrocosm-microcosm relationship, the belief that man was created by God as the image of the great world and that true correspondence did exist between man and the macrocosm. Such ideas gave credence to the belief that links existed everywhere between the celestial and sublunary worlds; it seemed therefore reasonable enough to assume that stars would influence human life and especially affect human health. In Gdańsk many scholars and physicians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries agreed that astral influences molded the state of the people's health. This influence was regarded both as a direct and an indirect one, and a physician was believed to have the power to seek out successfully in the plant and mineral kingdoms those substances that corresponded with the celestial bodies and therefore ultimately with the Creator of the universe. In his 1565 treatise *Von der Pestilenz*, for example, Dr. Bartholomeus Wagner stated that the plague was connected with *"der Einfluss des Himmels und der schedlichen Constellation und böse Aspect und Zusammenfügung der grossen Planeten Martis und Saturni und auch Jovis sonderlich in menschlichen Zeichen"* ("the influence of the heavens and the damaging constellation, evil aspect, and putting together of the great planets Mars and Saturn and also Jupiter, especially in the human signs"). Another Gdańsk physician, probably Severin Goebel, claimed in the 1540 treatise *Diaeta oder Speissbuchlein* that certain organs and members of the human body were ruled by particular stars — e.g., milt (the spleen) was influenced by Saturn and Scorpios. The same ideas were expressed by Willem Misocacus, who in the years 1568 to 1595 compiled in Gdańsk his "prognostica" — a sort of an astrological calendar for every year, foretelling the conditions of health from constellations.

Such attitudes led inevitably to natural magic, which spread among educated inhabitants of Gdańsk in the form

2. M. Bogucka, "Mentalitat der Burger von Gdańsk in XVI.-XVII jh," *Studia Maritima* 1 (1978): 64-75.

3. J. Kaufman, "Uber Danziga Sanitats - und Medizinalwesen im 16. und 17. Jhr.," *Mitteilungen des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins* 4 (1905) Heft. 1-2, p. 31 ff.

of "learned" theories and among town dwellers as several witchcraft practices. The gap between the "learned" and "popular" issues was not very deep, however. That many popular superstitions were making the rounds in the sophisticated circles of patricians in Gdańsk shows in an interesting diary written by Charles Ogier, a Frenchman who visited Gdańsk in the years 1635-36.[4] In particular, the deep conviction in the existence of miraculous medicines which could cure every ailment was shared by enlightened as well as simple men, by rich and poor. On December 22, 1634, before the court of the vice-burghermaster, a citizen of Gdańsk named Eustachius Hoewell produced several witnesses who publicly claimed to have been cured by his mysterious drug made from "unicorn's pulver."[5] Representatives of several different social groups appeared on the witness stand in his behalf: burghers of Gdańsk as well as noblemen and peasants from the countryside, laymen as well as clerics, men and women. Some of them, a theologian and a preacher, for example, had an educated background. The witnesses testified to cures of heart ailments, digestive troubles, fevers, malaria, dropsy, smallpox, melancholy, mental disorders, paralysis, and sight and hearing troubles. In fact, they claimed that after taking a small amount of the miraculous pulver produced by Hoewell and suffering some sweating, all ailments were gone. Thus, in spite of the popularity of predestination's ideas and of heroic attempts to maintain a stoic attitude toward illness and death, the inhabitants of Gdańsk were eager to believe in every wonder medicine that promised to free them from sickness and pain.

The Social Response to Illness

Yet the city responded with more than just religion and superstition. Gdańsk in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was an important center of medical science.[6] The High School established in the town in the middle of the sixteenth century was of a university standard; in the first half of the seventeenth century it obtained an academic title. The chair of medicine was created there in 1580. The great influence on medical science in Gdańsk was the famous scholar John Placatomus, who in the second half of the sixteenth century introduced to the city's scientists new ideas about the human body and its functioning known as the "humoral" theory, and compiled a pharmacopea based on his large knowledge of botany. The revolutionary ideas of Paracelsus were also spreading among Gdańsk's medical circles, resulting in the introduction of chemical remedies to medical practice. One of Paracelsus' adherents was Dr. Alexander Zuchta, who wrote a book on chemical treatment in 1570 entitled *De secretis antimonii*. Knowledge of anatomy was advancing rapidly, and at the end of the sixteenth century a well known professor of anatomy, John Mathesius, was dissecting animal and human bodies. The first public dissection of a human corpse was performed in Gdańsk in 1613 by Dr. Joachim Oelhaf.[7]

Gdańsk maintained lively relations with the best European universities and with eminent scholars living in Germany, in France, in Italy, and in The Netherlands. The leading physicians in Gdańsk in the sixteenth century were Christopher Heyll, who translated and commented on the works of Galen, and Adrian Pauli, who worked on problems of diet and personal hygiene. In 1643 Nicholas Oelhaf, the son of Joachim, published an herbal enumerating 350 plants from the region of Gdańsk with the description of their medicinal properties. Laurentius Eichstadt, a professor of anatomy in the years 1645 to 1660, author of an eminent school book on osteology and expert on blood circulation, also became quite famous. Another physician, John Schmidt, tried in the 1660s to use the intravenous application of medicines to his patients; he also prepared a new pharmacopeia, *Dispensatio Gedananse*, in 1665. The modern theories of blood circulation were developed by Israel Conradt, who in 1659 published an important treatise on the subject called *De sanguine*. Later Conradt began to research the impact of cold on living organisms in *Dissertatio medico-physica de natura frigoris et effectibus* in 1677.[8]

But how big was the gap between the learned top of the medical world and average medical practice in Gdańsk? At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the treatment of patients was still based primarily on the ideas of the ancient masters Hippocrates and Galen, as well as on several Arabic commentators, especially the Persian Avicenna. It was only in the next decades that medical practice began to change. Structurally, the medical community of Gdańsk was composed of five distinct divisions: physicians, or *promoti doctores*, trained in foreign universities and well experienced; mostly "home-made" surgeons; barber-surgeons, apothecaries, and

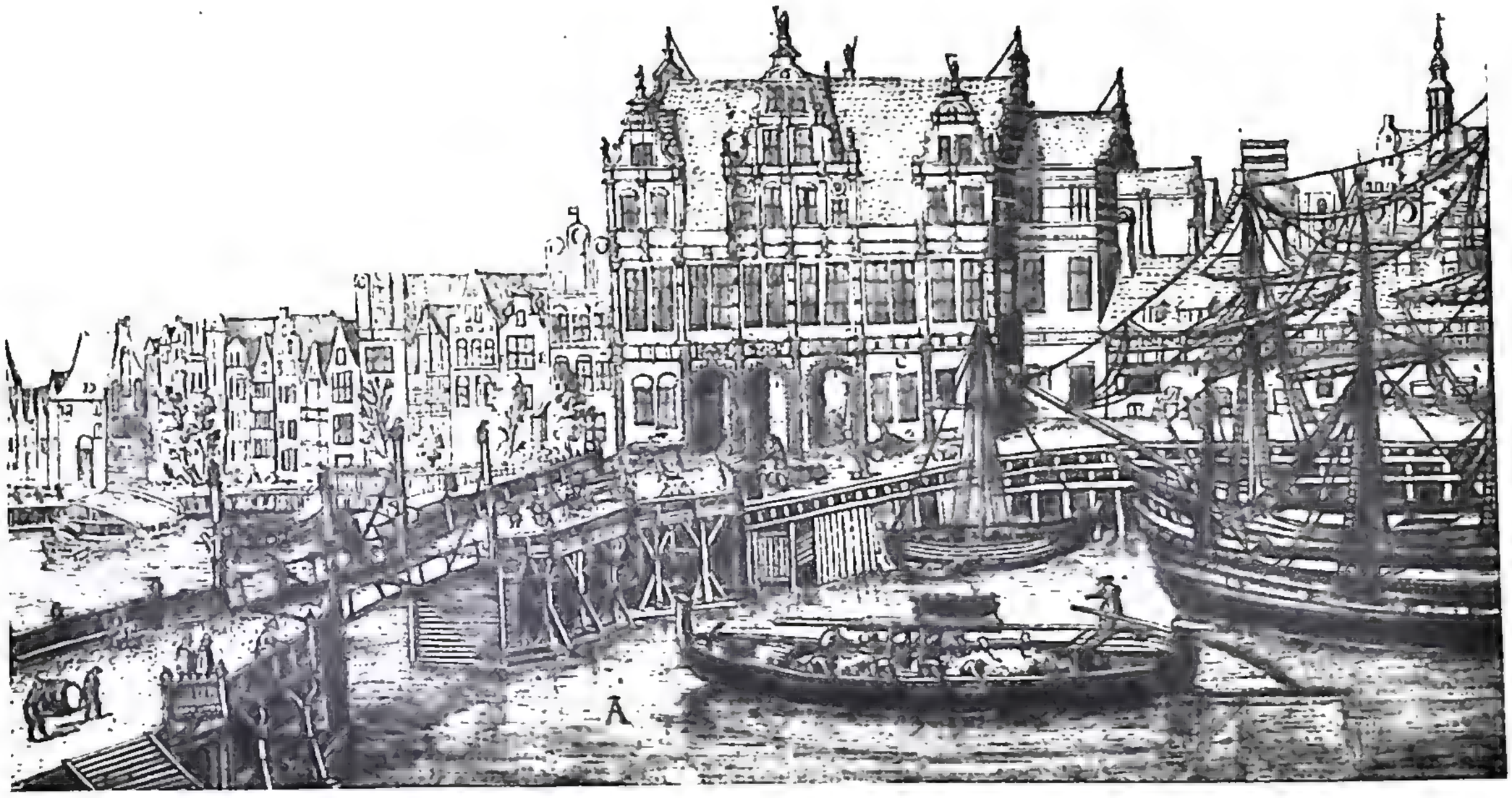
4. See his talks with Johann Czirenbergk, burghermaster of Gdańsk, elected 1630, in *Caroli Ogerii Ephemerides sive iter Danicum, Suecicum, Polonicum*, ed. W. Czaplinski, 1 (Gdańsk, 1950), p. 325 ff.

5. Archives of Gdańsk (hereafter AG) 300, Records of the Burghermasters of Gdańsk, 5/73, p. 357 ff.

6. See St. Sokol, *Medycyna w Gdańsku w dobie Odrodzenia [Renaissance Medicine in Gdańsk]* (Wroclaw, 1960), passim.

7. K. Kubik and L. Mokrzecki, *Trzy wieki nauki gdanskiej [Three Centuries of Science in Gdańsk]* (Gdańsk, 1976), p. 139 ff.

8. Ibid.



Gdańsk's harbor in the seventeenth century.

finally, unlicensed or non-professional practitioners of all kinds.[9] At the top was the newly trained elite — the physicians — limited by municipal authorities to only 10 to 20 in number.[10] About 1530 the post of a chief doctor or "town's physician" was created; his duty was to check the health conditions in the city as well as to supervise the medical activities conducted by his colleagues. Surgeons and apothecaries had to prove their skill before him in order to obtain a license. In 1636 a collective body of supervision — a Collegium medicum — was established. It was a kind of Chamber of Medicine with the power to control the medical affairs of the city. Anyone who wanted to get into medical practice in Gdańsk was obliged to present his diploma and to pass an examination before the members of the Collegium, and in 1677 the duty to deliver public lectures was added to the requirements. The members of the Collegium met every three months to discuss cases of disease spreading among the population of the city, to figure out preventive methods against them, and to report on recent medical works and discoveries.

Physicians in Gdańsk enjoyed a high social status connected with material wealth. At his death in 1657, for example, *medicinae practicus* David Rosenkrans owned two houses as well as one half of another house in the city, with estimated values of 30,000 florins, 8,000 florins, and 2,500 florins. His furniture was worth 3,360 florins, and his silverplate and jewels 5,827 florins. He owned a large stock of wine (4,352 florins) as well as a great sum in cash (38,228 florins).[11] Nor were barbers and apothecaries poor or uneducated. A post-mortem inventory of the late Daniel Paulitzen, a barber, written on July 30, 1637, mentions a house in the city, another one with a garden in a suburb called New Garden, a great deal of furniture, clothes, and linen, a large collection of silverplate and old coins, 19 pictures and two "wunderthiere" (probably stuffed exotic animals) as well as a large library — 30 books in folio, 87 in quarto, 187 in octavo and 16°.[12] Jacob Sper, a journeyman apothecary born in Silesia, left at his death in Gdańsk in September 1637 clothes and linen as well as some utensils and medical books. One was by an author listed as Christopher Wirsingh, who could be John Georg Wirsung, discoverer

9. M. Bogucka, *Zycie codzienne w Gdańsku XVI-XVII w. [Daily Life in Gdańsk in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries]* (Warszawa, 1967), p. 142 ff.

10. P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig* 2 (Danzig, 1918), p. 535.

11. AG 300, Diaries and Correspondence (hereafter R/Vv) 191, pp. 1-18.

12. AG 300, R/Vv 190, pp. 90-98.

of the pancreatic canal, or Christopher Wiesener, who some years later wanted to open a pharmacy in Gdańsk.[13] Another was written by Paracelsus; the third was a Latin pharmacopeia.[14]

Not surprisingly, regulation improved the level of medical services. Blood letting and purgations were still in popular use, but there were also attempts to make an individual diagnosis. Patients were carefully examined, their urine tested, and their pulse and temperature checked as well as the look of their skin, the coloring of the whites of their eyes, and the conditions of their tongues. Physicians used both dietary prescriptions and chemical remedies to cure disease, e.g. mercury ointments in cases of syphilis. Not only *promoti doctores* but also common surgeons, regarded primarily as craftsmen, had a large practical knowledge of anatomy. They did much of the bone setting and accomplished many operations such as removing cataracts and bladderstones and performing appendectomies. More simple operations were often performed by barbers, well trained in tasks such as tooth extractions, incision of ulcers, application of poultices, and of course, phlebotomy.

The dense network of drugstores offered easy access to a wide range of syrups, pulvers, ointments, and pills. They were prepared according to the physician's prescription or on the basis of the pharmacologist's own invention. Gdańsk had two town apotheques, one in the Main Town and another in the Old Town, which were usually put out to lease to some learned persons. The Main Town apotheque was at one time headed by Placatomus himself. In addition, there were many small private establishments controlled by the town's physicians.[15] Some of the apothecaries owned small gardens where they raised their own medicinal plants, while others bought herbs and other exotic ingredients from merchants supplying Gdańsk's port with spices and medicines from abroad. The traffic in medical supplies was a very profitable one and was therefore often carried on by numerous hucksters or peddlers whose main trade was selling sweets, dried fruits, exotic syrups, etc. An ordinance issued by the Municipal Council in 1597 concerning the organization of drug stores in Gdańsk[16] did not allow laymen to exercise such unprofessional commerce with remedies, but it was difficult to abolish the long established practice.

13. St. Sokol, *Medycyna*, p. 135.
14. AG 300, R/Vv 190, p. 99.
15. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, p. 182.
16. Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Gdańsk, Manuscript MS 724, pp. 1081 ff.

Alongside learned medicine, popular medical practice was still in use. It was based on old folk wisdom as well as on belief in magic amulets, secret miraculous remedies, and witchcraft. Such beliefs were shared by members of enlightened circles, who often resorted to the help of unofficial healers. Quacks and witch doctors were numerous in spite of fierce protests by learned professionals, who wanted to establish a monopoly on medical activities. The number of quack doctors rose during the fairs, because of the free influx of foreigners into the city. They advertised their abilities noisily in the market places, streets, pubs and taverns of the city, publicly performing wonder cures and operations. According to complaints from *promoti doctores*, quacks even intruded into hospitals and private homes seeking ill persons, even buying them from hospital overseers or parents for use as guinea pigs. Oral propaganda and printed leaflets helped to gather large crowds of spectators as well as despairing individuals who sought help from quack doctors performing their experiments in the markets. Such medical shows constituted an important part of daily life in the seventeenth century.[17]

Not so boisterous but nonetheless significant was the role played in popular medicine by women. The task of attending sick persons was traditionally women's duty, and it enabled them during the centuries to acquire a large amount of knowledge on medical matters. Women attended not only members of their own families but also ailing neighbors or foreign visitors in need. Women traditionally held a monopoly on delivering babies; only in the richest families had calling a doctor to the childbed recently come into practice.[18] Middle class women were attended by a professional midwife. In 1610 Gdańsk established an official post of "town's midwife," with an annual salary of 100 marques, to attend the women of wealthy families as well as supervise the activities of other professional midwives. She was also obliged to testify before courts of justice in cases where infanticide was suspected.[19] In the poorer areas a simple female from the neighborhood, old enough to be experienced, was asked to help the childbearers.[20] Many medieval customs such as putting a woman in labor on a bison's skin in order to diminish her pains were still common among all groups of the population. Lack of personal hygiene and the role of unskilled medical practitioners resulted in an extremely high rate of death in childbirth as well as in the high death rate in general.

17. Kaufman, "Uber Danziga Sanitats...," p. 27 ff.
18. M. Bogucka, *Zycie codzienne*, p. 146 ff.
19. AG 300, Records of the Burghermasters of Gdańsk, 1/95, p. 97.
20. Ibid. See also St. Sokol, *Medycyna*, p. 226.

Treatment of the Sick in Seventeenth Century Gdańsk

Illness in seventeenth century Gdańsk was before all a family affair. Bedridden persons were attended by other family members, mostly by women; they were cured or prepared for death in their own beds. Illness and death constituted not only a physical process but were arranged as a moral show, with sufferings displayed to give warning to all members of the family as well as to the neighbors, reminding them of the fragility of health and the shortness of life. The time of illness was used not only for treatment but also to prepare the sick for the meeting with God. It included some very concrete worldly activities as well: writing the last will, disposing of property, making compensation for any harm done in the past, giving admonition and blessings to the children. Such a show had not only a didactic value, but helped the sick to overcome physical weakness and fear, to forget their sufferings, to concentrate on things other than illness. An important psychological consequence of suffering illness and dying in the family was to spare the patient the feeling of being alone, the frustration caused in modern hospitals by the brutal interruption of links with one's well-known surroundings and loving people. The familiar surroundings as well as the ritual of religious gestures around the dying person made the sorrowful departure somewhat less painful, more dignified and purposeful.

But not everyone in Gdańsk had family members around his bed of sickness. The number of single persons in a large maritime city was always very high; unfortunately, the lack of demographic studies concerning Gdańsk means that precise data are not available. Nonetheless, it seems clear that a single person living in Gdańsk and falling seriously ill had to depend on a woman from the neighborhood for care. A more complicated problem was the influx of people coming to the city for a short stay, usually from one to four weeks. Such visitors were especially numerous in the summer when the harbor was busy. Since the Middle Ages, Gdańsk had responded to the problem with several municipal hospitals. Reinhold Curicke, a secretary to the Town Council, wrote in the middle of the seventeenth century that *"An hospitalen ist in Danzig kein Mangell, in welchen sich Ehrliche abgelebte so woll Männer als Weibes personen aufhalten und entweder selbst hin einkauffen oder auss Gnaden wan sie unvermögen sein angenommen"*[21] ("There is no shortage of hospitals in Danzig, in which men as well as women who have lived honestly stay, and they either pay their own way in or are taken in from charity if they have no money"). However, such hospitals were established as homes for the elderly, not as institutions for medical treatment. Only Pockenhaus, a smallpox hospital situated in a suburb, accepted short term patients with contagious diseases as well as people suffering from mental disorders.[22]

A special institution for sailors was St. Jacob's Hospital, built in 1415.[23] But it was also designed for permanent care of old, invalid skippers "who did serve faithfully their merchants," especially those who were citizens of Gdańsk. Theoretically the hospital was also meant to care temporarily for foreign seamen who became ill, but its ability to do so was limited. Foreign seamen falling ill during their sojourn in the city had to take care of themselves in another way — by turning to one of the several private nursing homes that existed in seventeenth century Gdańsk. The owners of such homes accepted sick seamen and other travellers, providing them not only with shelter and bed but also with meals and medical treatment.[24] In addition, the inns kept by the journeymen's organizations usually had one or two rooms where sick journeymen would be provided with a bed and some medical care.[25]

More specific data on such establishments are found in bills and accounts presented in the court of justice, usually after the patient's death. One such account was drawn up on September 4, 1683 by Gdańsk citizen Simon Kruger, who took care of a sick Dutch boatswain, Jan Lorentsen. The following items are listed in the bill:

Porters for bringing the sick man to the boarding house	1 florin, 6 pennies
Barber's fee for bloodletting	24 pennies
Beer	24 pennies
Wine	1 florin, 24 pennies
Sugar	18 pennies
Muscat balm	2 pennies
One pound of candles	10 pennies
Admission fee to the Skippers' Guild (to ensure the Guild's assistance with the funeral)	15 pennies

21. R. Curicke, *Der Stadt Danzig Historische Beschreibung* (Amsterdam-Danzig, 1688), p. 341.

22. Ibid., p. 344.

23. M. Bogucka, "Sailors' Professional Risk in the Fleet of Gdańsk in the XVI-XVII Centuries," *Studia Maritima* 4 (1985): 64.

24. Ibid., p. 66 ff.

25. M. Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako osrodek produkcyjny od XIV do polowy XVII w. [Gdańsk as a Center of Production in the XIV-XVII Centuries]* (Warszawa, 1962), p. 351 ff.

A maid to care for the sick man	3 florins
Bed linen damaged during illness	10 florins
After the death:	
Bill from the pharmacy	6 florins, 9 pennies
Dr. Gotwald's bill	1 florin, 6 pennies
Dr. Furschlaff's bill	6 florins
Cost of the funeral	64 florins, 18 pennies[26]

Simon Kruger probably specialized in looking after sick sailors. In September 1693 another Dutch boatswain from Enkhuisen who sailed on board the Gdańsk ship *Jungfrau Philippina* died at Kruger's house.[27]

All expenses during the illness of Jan Lorentzen amounted to 31 florins, 12 pennies. The disease must have been of very short duration, as in the bill there are no food items except sugar, beer, and wine, which probably were used for making invigorating mixtures. There is no indication of the kind of illness; we do know, however, that the sick sailor was given extensive medical treatment: two doctors were called, as well as a barber who did the bloodletting. Lorentzen consumed several remedies bought in a pharmacy, drank wine with sugar, and a specially hired servant kept vigil by his bed. Before his death Lorentzen became a member of Gdańsk's Guild of Skippers in order to add to the splendor of his funeral; after an elaborate ceremony the corpse was buried near the St. Jacob's church, where wealthy seamen who died in Gdańsk were usually inhumed.

The boatswain Lorentzen belonged to the "sailing aristocracy." Klaus Frietz, a journeyman ship's carpenter who fell ill and died on 22 May 1694, was treated differently. He met his death in a private nursing home kept by a shoemaker, Heinrich Gleymann, a professional caretaker of ailing foreigners. In 1692 a medical student, Lorentz Ribow, had died in Gleymann's house.[28] After the death of Frietz, Gleymann produced his bill: 3 florins, 4 pennies for remedies and taking care of the sick. No "eccentric" expenses like doctors' fees or wine were mentioned. The funeral was extremely simple — it cost only 7 florins 7 pennies. Gleymann paid 24 pennies to some men for informing the skipper that Frietz was dead and bringing the deceased's property from the ship to be sold to cover the expenses in the inn.[29]

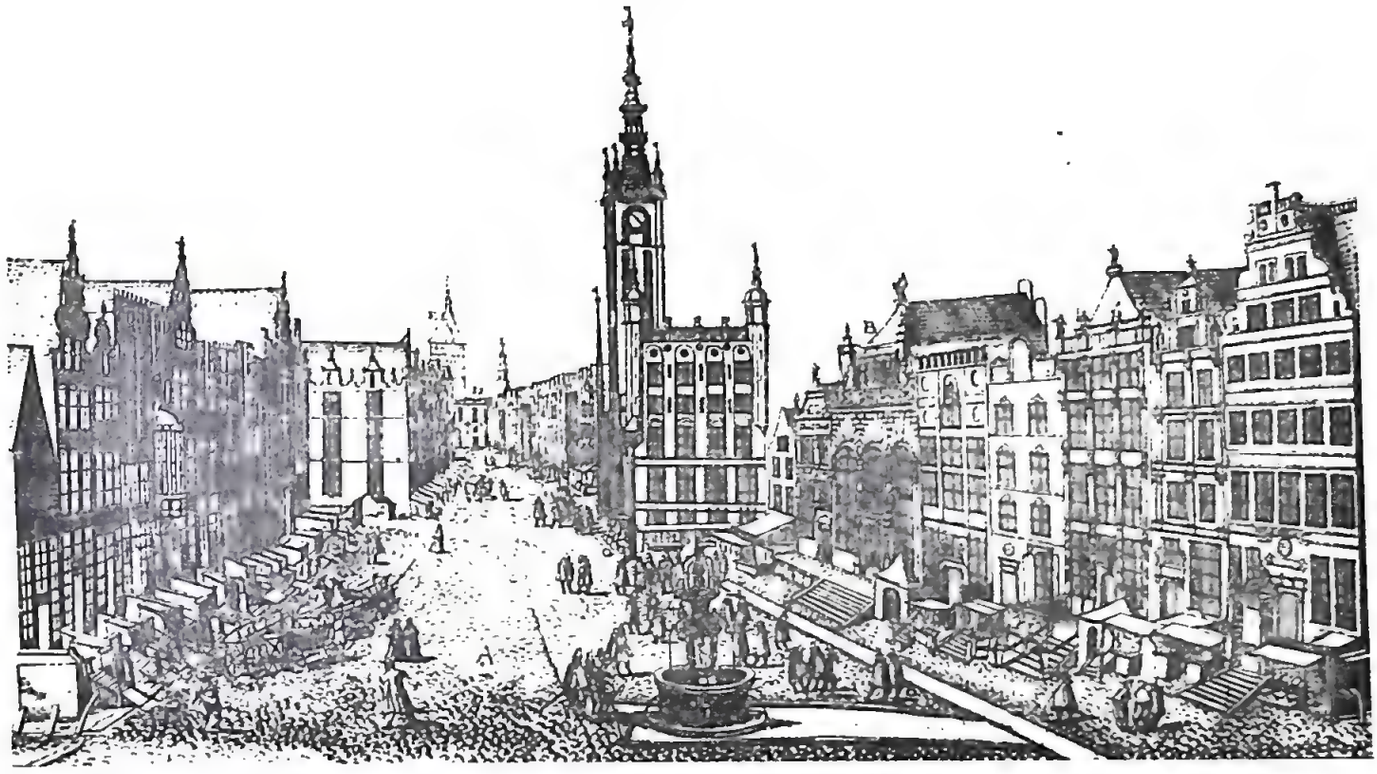
26. AG 300, R/Vv 186, pp. 19-20.
27. Ibid., p. 23.
28. Ibid., p. 29.
29. Ibid.

The above analyzed bills give us a picture of the medical care given in Gdańsk to single, rather poor seamen, situated as foreigners on the margin of the urban society. Other sources that concern Gdańsk's inhabitants from the middle and poor stratas give a similar picture. An inventory of movables left by the widow of a petty Gdańsk merchant, Daniel Perschen, in February 1647 stated that the following should be paid from her property: 44 florins 19 pennies to a pharmacologist for his remedies, 30 florins to Dr. Georg Stieglitz for 12 weeks of treatment, and 24 florins to a woman who took care of the sick woman and her children for six months.[30] It seems that the deceased was ill some months before a doctor was called, but full particulars of the kind of illness as well as the treatment are unknown. During the last three months of her life, however, she received professional help and was given remedies bought in a pharmacy. Probably when home-made cures appeared to be insufficient, the sick woman turned to "learned" professionals for help. Dr. Steiglitz was at that time one of the most respected medics in Gdańsk.

Another example comes from an account concerning the illness and death of a journeyman carpenter, Palman Teschels. The bill states that his ailment lasted 15 weeks, from March 16 to July 7, 1654. The sick man was given several medicines — purgatory pulver, sudorific pills, cough syrup, some ointments — as well as sophisticated meals of wine, sugar and raisins. His urine was tested twice, with one check costing 6 pennies. The whole cost of the treatment amounted to 33 florins 29 pennies, and the cost of a very modest burial was 15 florins 3 pennies. As the sale of Teschels' belongings brought only 24 florins 8 pennies, the Carpenters' Guild had to pay the difference.[31] Thus, it is evident that even very poor persons in Gdańsk were not without some professional medical help.

Another example involves the widow of the late Gergen Bentaw, who lived in the house of a locksmith named Lorentz Steffen and who died in 1657 after a short illness, or possibly from complications after childbirth. The cost of medical care given to her amounted to 22 florins 7.5 pennies, the cost of her burial to 65 florins 11 pennies. The deceased left a child who lived 10 weeks after its mother's death; the cost of the child's upkeep came to 20 florins and its medical treatment cost 4 florins.[32] This case shows that even newborn children in Gdańsk received some medical assistance. Similarly, a

30. AG 300, 5/74. pp. 336a-339b.
31. AG 300, R/Vv 196, pp. 35-38.
32. Ibid., pp. 45-46.



Gdańsk: The center of the city in the seventeenth century.

journeyman named Michael Otten who worked in a butcher's shop and died in the same year as the Bentaw widow and her child was attended by a barber whose salary was 6 florins. A woman hired to take care of him during his illness was paid 6 florins as well. The lack of pharmacy bills could indicate that Otten was not taking professional remedies and was satisfied with home-made ones. On the other hand his burial was rather expensive. The men who put the body into the coffin were offered beer, cakes and limonen, and professional "askers" (*"Umbbittern"*) were sent to invite people to the ceremony. School boys sang and played the lute, and plenty of black and white cloth was bought to trim the catafalque and to make the draperies on the door leading to the house of mourning. The total funeral expenses amounted to 88 florins 25 pennies.[33]

Another interesting account concerns the illness and death of Anne Moltzansche, a rather poor widow who died in July 1658 after six weeks and five days of ailing. She was attended by a woman who received 1 florin 6 pennies weekly as her salary. During her illness Anne was fed well, receiving meat, beer, fish, sugar, buttermilk, and raisins. As remedies she was given aqua vitae, wine, and violet syrup. Her burial was accompanied by a sermon that cost 1 florin 15 pennies and several special prayers: the *"forbitten"* (intercession) as well as the *"dancksagung"* (thanksgiving) were each sung in the church three times. The schoolboys sang and the church bells of St. Peter and St. Trinity rang to mark her passing. Professional "askers," both male and female, invited people to the ceremony. The widow Moltzansche, while poor, had without doubt a rather wealthy background because she was buried not in the cemetery but in the church of St. Trinity, probably in her family grave. It is worth noting that the widow's entire property was spent on her illness and funeral; only 67 florins 12 pennies were left.[34]

Statements made by a Dr. Roman Serrurier make the accounts of the illness and burial of a peddler, Hans Minnen, particularly interesting. After his death in June of 1674, Minnen's modest movables were estimated at 305 florins 11 pennies. Dr. Serrurier presented before the court three bills: one from the year 1669 when Minnen had a

33. AG 300, R/Vv 191, p. 39.

34. Ibid., pp. 101-104.

stroke (*"den Schlag"*) and was treated by Serrurier for 10 weeks and given remedies made by the doctor himself; a second dating from the year 1673 when Minnen was sick again for eight weeks suffering "fever and great weakness"; and a third dating from the year 1674 when Minnen was ill for nine weeks with "fever and rotten stomach" and finally died.[35] Serrurier attended him in all these cases during five consecutive years. He was probably a sort of "family physician," who did his duty even without immediate full financial remuneration. Such an attitude speaks rather well about the professional medical circles in Gdańsk.

The availability of medical services was such that even poor servants had access to it in the case of illness. Records tell of a Catherine Neymann, a maid in the house of wealthy Gdańsk burgher and businessman Baltzer Schultze, who died on September 18, 1683. She was probably taken to a nursing home, as the bill of expenses for her illness made by Schultze mentions the innkeeper's fee. The symptoms of Catherine's illness were probably violent ones, because a woman was paid six pennies a night to sit up with her. A doctor as well as a barber were called, and many remedies were tried, such as syrups, drops and pulvers, as well as wines, including four quarts of French wine and one quart of Rhine wine. The treatment did not help, and Catherine died and was buried in the cemetery of Corpus Christi. The funeral was quite simple, without any singing or bells ringing, but with some flowers, which were allowed in Gdańsk for virgins' funerals. The total cost amounted to 32 florins 3 pennies. The maid's belongings were sold at auction for 40 florins 21 pennies to cover the expenses.[36]

Poor craftsmen falling ill were given assistance by the guilds, as was the case of the above mentioned journeyman Palman Teschels. Other evidence comes from an account made on December 10, 1694 by the Guild of Furriers, which records expenses relating to the illness and death of a poor furrier's journeyman, Hans Gergen, born in Silesia and working in Gdańsk. The doctor called to the sick man was paid 3 florins, but no mention is made of buying any drugs at the pharmacy. The costs of nursing amounted only to 1 florin plus another florin "for special care." The illness was probably of very short duration. The funeral was extremely modest: the body was washed, put into the simple coffin and quickly buried without any ceremonies. The guild had to pay the deceased's debts of 1 florin 24 pennies. Total expenses amounted to 15 florins 12 pennies; as the few belongings were sold for 6 florins 19 pennies, the difference was covered by the guild.[37]

35. AG 300, R/Vv 185, pp. 41, 51.
36. AG 300, R/Vv 186, pp. 25-27.
37. Ibid., p. 13.

An examination of 162 accounts and bills concerning the costs of the medical treatment and burials of rather poor persons (petty merchants, peddlers, craftsmen, journeymen, servants, daily workers, poor widows, etc.) in seventeenth century Gdańsk yielded the following results:

Table 2: Patterns of Medical Care
Among the Poor in Gdańsk, 1602-1699*

Number of cases	162
Attended by family	15%
Attended by paid women or in a nursing home	62%
Treated by a medical doctor	32%
Treated by a barber	41%
Treated by both MD and barber	25%
Urine checked once	66%
Urine checked twice or more	15%
Use of medicines bought in a pharmacy	75%
Special diet	32%
Use of alcohol as a remedy	71%

*Based on 162 cases from the Archives of Gdańsk 300.1/19-96, 300.5/13-115, 300.R/Vv 185, 186, 191, 196.

The table shows the cases of acute illness of single men and women, hence the high percentage of attendance by paid women. The table also shows the high incidence of professional medical care by doctors and barbers in the treatment of acute illness, the frequency of urine tests in diagnosis, and the liberal use of alcohol as an important remedy in addition to chemical and herbal drugs prepared in the pharmacies. It is also important to look at the duration of illness. The sources show that acute illness in seventeenth century Gdańsk was usually of short duration. In the 162 studied cases, 105 resulted in death within one week (64%), 29 within one month (18%), 20 within two months (12%), and in seven cases the illness lasted more than one year (4%). In only one case — a stroke resulting in paralysis — is an illness reported which kept the victim in bed for more than seven years.[38]

38. AG 300, R/Vv 191, pp. 53-59.

One could assume that the lack of more sophisticated medical treatment did not allow sick people in critical condition to stay alive longer than a few days or weeks. However, another explanation is also possible: poor people called for professional help only *in extremis* to avoid as long as possible the high costs of a cure. Thus, data concerning poor inhabitants of Gdańsk and concentrating on acute illness show a picture of "last stage" medical care which may not be valid in all cases. For the poor, the decision to seek medical care was directly related to the cost of illness and burial. In 132 of the 162 cases studied (81%) the costs of medical treatment and of a funeral swallowed the whole of the small property left by the deceased. In 12 cases (8%), the expenses appeared to be even higher than the sums received after selling the deceased's belongings, and the difference was usually covered by the guild or by the employer in the case of a servant's death. Only in 18 cases (11%) did the property left by the dead poor exceed the expenses of illness and death.

Time of Plague

As a maritime city, Gdańsk in the seventeenth century received the plague from several sources and experienced an extraordinary plague frequency as well as plague morbidity. According to recent research, the plague in early modern Europe was caused by a complex series of bacterial strains called *Yersinia pestis*.[39] Its toxicity varied but the disease was always highly lethal. Under normal circumstances the bacteria lived in the digestive tract of fleas, particularly the rat fleas *Xenopsylla cheopis* and *Corthophylus fasciatus*, but it could also live in the human flea, *Pulex irritans*. Periodically and for reasons that epidemiologists still do not fully understand, the bacilli multiplied in the flea's stomach in numbers large enough to cause a blockage, thus threatening the flea with starvation. The "blocked" flea, while feeding, regurgitated into its victims large numbers of *Y. pestis* bacilli, and this process was crucial to the plague's progress.

There are some environmental conditions that determine the presence and virulence of plague epidemics. First, there are factors of insect and rodent ecology. The appropriate fleas and rodents must live near people. The flea must be blocked or *Y. pestis* will remain in the digestive system, and the secondary host must die before the flea moves on to a tertiary host. An epizootic rather than enzootic condition must prevail among the secondary host population, and the tertiary host must be man rather than other large mammals. Climate always plays an important role. The rat flea *X. cheopis* is quite hardy; it can even survive for six months to a year without a rodent host in dung, an abandoned rat's nest or even textile bales. But it is active only at temperatures of 15-20°C, with 90-95% humidity. Cold limits the flea's activity, while heat retards its productivity, and humidity of less than 70% kills it. These factors limit plague outbreaks to particular places and seasons. Bubonic plague is a disease which occurs in places where both climate is appropriate and rats abundant and likely to be in contact with the infection; that is, in big seaports and large grain and textile trade centers. Gdańsk was, therefore, a city ripe for bubonic plague.

Plague came to Gdańsk in the Middle Ages because of the city's lively commercial connections. The presence of *Y. pestis* established in the rodent population of Gdańsk in the Middle Ages could be responsible for outbreaks of plague in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But it is also likely that the ships from England and The Netherlands bound for Gdańsk in early modern times brought new rodents with fleas carrying *Y. pestis* or other plague infected insects such as lice. Both occasions would result in the cyclic occurrence of plague pandemics as was the case in Gdańsk in the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries.

Table 3: The Frequency and Morbidity of Plague in Seventeenth Century Gdańsk*

Year	Number of Deceased
1602	16,723
1620	11,847
1624	10,536
1625	4,200
1629	4,185
1630	5,039
1639	7,466
1653	11,616
1657	7,569
1658	?
1659	?
1660	5,515

*Based on the records made by the town's authorities and later published. See Library of Polish Academy of Sciences in Gdańsk, call number Od 747 (in quarto) as well as R. Curicke, *Der Stadt Danzigs Historische Beschreibung* (Amsterdam-Danzig 1688), pp. 270 ff, 428 ff. See also M. Chr. Hanow, *Nutzlicher Dantziger Erfahrungen Erstes Stück* (Danzig, 1739), p. 4.

39. J. N. Biraben, *Les hommes et la peste*, 2 vols. (The Hague, 1975), passim.

The data in Table 3 are rather exact because of the great accuracy of the records kept by the Gdansk City Council.[40] While the data reflect conditions at maxima rather than minima, they nevertheless show us that in the pandemic of 1602-1660 the plague struck in Gdańsk at least six times in one generation and took each time 1/20 to 1/5 of the city's total population. One could assume that the economic, social, and psychological impact of its outbreaks would deeply affect the whole life of the city. Many scholars have stressed that the massive flight of rich town dwellers to the countryside, disrupted trade, broken social ties, an enormous rising of religious attitudes, and eruptions of hate and social discontent were the usual effects of the plague. In seventeenth century Gdańsk, however, it is rather difficult to trace such phenomena. The city was literally bursting with energetic economic activities, with building of splendid residences, with artists and scholars working in many fields of culture.[41] Perhaps only a great preoccupation with religious affairs, even overpiety, as well as a fascination with death (a feeling conspicuously displayed in the literature and art of this period) could be seen as the results of the terrible experience with the plague. But the demographic losses were quickly compensated by the constant influx of newcomers, seeking in Gdańsk better opportunities of life and work. It is also true that the most affected by the epidemics were the poorest stratas of the urban society — harbor workers, street peddlers, journeymen, poor widows with children — in short, the people with little resistance because of constant undernourishment and unhealthy living conditions, close to the infected rats' nests. The victims from the higher stratas of society were not numerous; the famous cases such as the deaths of the medical doctor Joachim Oelhaf in 1630 and the poet Martin Opitz in 1639 were deeply felt in the city,[42] but were relatively few.

By the late 1660s the plague pandemic had come to its end in Gdańsk as well as in the whole of Europe. Many scholars have tried to resolve this mystery.[43] For Gdańsk it could be explained by the decline of the grain and textile trade,[44] by changes in the climate, which became colder, or by increased resistance that resulted from a self immunizing process built up by earlier infections.[45]

The connection between rats, fleas, and bubonic infection was completely unknown to the people of the seventeenth century. They were simply baffled by the disease. Explanations of the causes of the fatal plague and its high mortality usually involved divine judgment. Preachers advised people to go to sleep every night as if it were their last and as if their beds were their tombs. The frailty of human life and the brevity of earthly glory were stressed in each sermon. Putrefaction was evidence of sin. Such ideas were also expressed by poets and artists in their works.[46] At the same time, however, scholars were trying to discover the very nature of the plague. The first treatise on this subject in Gdańsk appeared in 1531; it was Dr. John Sommerfeldt's *Ein sehr trostlich und kurz Regiment wider die schwinde und erschreckliche Plage der Pestilentz* (A Comforting and Brief Regimen against the Quick and Frightening Pestilence of the Plague). A second booklet was prepared by Dr. John Wagner in 1565 and entitled *Von der Pestilenz. Nützliche und gründliche Unterrichtung wie man sich mit Gottes Hülffe vorder Vergiftung bewahren und sich den Krancken, welche eingefallen, wieder helfen soll* (About the Plague: Useful and Thorough Teaching on How one can Protect Oneself with God's Help from the Poisoning, and How one can Help Sick Persons who have Fallen Victim). Both suggested that the plague was connected with bad air. Dr. Wagner wrote that air *"nicht allein in iren primis qualitatibus und Eigenschaften, als da sind Warme, Kelte, Feuchte und Dorre sondern auch in irer Substanz und Wesentlichkeit vorendert, zerstört und verünreiniget wird von schadlichen, faulen, süchtigen, vaporen, Dunsten, und Dampffen, welche sich mit der Luft vermischen und vereinigen und durch den Atem in das alleredelste Glied des Herzens eingezogen werden, dasselbige nicht anders eine rechte Gift anzünden und verderben"* ("changes not only in its *primis qualitatibus* [first qualities] and characteristics such as warmth, coldness, dampness, and dryness, but also in its substance and being. It is destroyed

40. See E. Kloss, *Pestapidemien in Danzig*, in *Sammelwerk der gesundheitlicher Fursorgeinrichtungen ... im Gebiet der Freien Staedt Danzig* (Düsseldorf, o.J.), p. 17.

41. See E. Cieslak, ed., *Historia Gdańska [The History of Gdańsk]* vol. 2 (Gdańsk, 1982), passim.

42. Cf. H. von Hülsen, "Ein deutcher Dichter stirbt an der Pest in Danzig," *Heft der Zs. Meridian*, Jg. 4, (1952): 7.

43. P. Laslett, *The World We Have Lost* (New York: 1973), p. 127; T.H. Hollingsworth, "Historical Demography," in *The Sources of History: Studies to the Uses of Historical Evidence* (1969), appendix 2; J.N. Biraben, "Certain Demographic Characteristics of the Plague Epidemics in France 1720-1722," *Daedalus* (Spring, 1968), passim.

44. See J.A. Faber, "The Decline of the Baltic Grain Trade in the Second Half of the 17th Century," *Acta Historiae Neerlandica* 1 (Leiden, 1966); M. Bogucka, "North European Commerce as a Solution to Resource Shortage in the 16th-18th Centuries," in *Natural Resources in European History*, ed. A. Maczak and W.N. Parker (Washington D.C., 1978), pp. 9-42.

45. The problem needs further research, however.

46. See among others G. Pauli, *Sechs Sterbens-Predigten zur Zeit der Pest. An 1620 und 24 gehalten. Nebst einer Predigt von der Flucht in Sterbens-Laufften* (Danzig, 1625). Some interesting sermons are cited in the recent work by D.A. Van Stekelberg, *Michael Albinus "Dantiscanus" 1610-1653* (Amsterdam, 1988), pp. 266-275.

and polluted by damaging, rotten, and contagious vapors, fogs, and steams, which mix and combine with the air and are drawn with the breath into the noblest organ of the heart where it inflames and spoils just like a regular poison"). The plague was also attributed to some astral influences: *"Der Einfluss des Himmels und der schedlichen Constellation und böse Aspect und Zusammenfügung der grossen Planeten"* ("The influence of the heavens and of the constellation, evil aspect, and putting together of the great planets").[47] Similar ideas were also repeated by Joachim Oelhaf and other Gdańsk scholars in the seventeenth century.

The town's authorities had tried in the sixteenth century to fight the fatal disease with more than prayers. In 1580 the city's Council asked a group of doctors to develop plans to combat the epidemics. Two town's physicians, Jacob Schade and Valerius Fidler, recommended that the town's inhabitants clean up the city premises, make a list of homes where sick persons were and isolate them, delegate special preachers and barbers to look after the sick persons, check all medicines which were given to the sick, instruct barbers to be moderate with bloodletting, bury the victims of the plague not in the churches but in special cemeteries outside the town, and keep fires burning in schools as well as in other places of public gatherings.[48]

That same year a short leaflet was produced to instruct people on how they should behave in the time of plague,[49] and similar guides were published later in the seventeenth century. Joachim Oelhaf wrote one such book in 1620 entitled *Wie sich ein jeder nechst goettlicher Huelff von der abscheulicher Seuche der Pestilenz praeserviren und curiren moege* (How anyone with God's help can preserve and cure himself of the repulsive sickness of the plague).[50] The instructions were published not only by medical doctors but also by theologians, as the measures against the plague always had a mixed nature — prayers and penitence went together with medical advice. A good example of such literature is *Geistliches Pestregiment* published in 1620.[51]

47. Cited after J. Kaufman, "Uber Danzigs Sanitats...," pp. 4-6.

48. Ibid., pp. 6-7.

49. *Bericht vor den armen gemeinen Man, wie man sich in anstoss itzt anfallender Seuche halten sol, aus befahl eines E.H.R. dieser koeniglichen Stadt Danzigk von den verordneten und bestelleten Medicis alda gantz kurz gefasset* (Danzig, 1580), Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Gdańsk, 19q 79a/13.

50. Ibid., 19q 79a/20.

51. *Geistliches Pestregiment das ist kurzer doch schrifftmessiger Bericht von der Schaedlichen plage der Pest ... Nebenst angesetzten zweyen Gebeten in diesen Sterbensleufften zu sprechen durch M. Daniel Dilgern Pfarrer* (Danzig, 1620), Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Gdańsk, Ha 505/1.

Since the plague was believed to be transferred from person to person through contaminated air, many thought that the breath, clothing, bedding, and even the stare of an infected person could pass on the deadly disease. Thus, town authorities ordered that the personel effects of the victims should be burned (although in fact they were often used again or even sold after some purgation) and that sick persons — especially poor ones — be kept in isolated sheds built on occasion in the suburbs. The infected houses in the city were marked by crosses and white sheets. In 1636 a quarantine for people as well as for goods coming to the city was introduced. In 1639 a special office of "plague physician" with a salary of 100 florins per year was established. Furthermore, during time of plague the Council tried to prevent large gatherings of people by closing schools, pubs, and public baths, forbidding fairs, theater shows, and big weddings, and decreeing that funerals had to be simple and attended only by family members.

People were advised to stay in during the day and try to remain cool. Those threatened by the plague were urged to burn aromatic softwoods such as juniper, oak, pine, rosemary, aloe, and amber. Figs, filberts and rue, all before breakfast on an empty stomach, were recommended. The best spices to ward off the plague were supposed to be myrrh, saffron, and pepper, all to be consumed late in the day along with some vegetables such as onions, leeks, and garlic, and extracts of sudorific herbs. Meals were to be light and well chewed, composed of bread, eggs, fruits and vegetables. Too much sleep was believed to be bad, especially right after eating. Sleeping on one's back was advised against, since this allowed potentially pestilential air to run down the nostrils and into the lungs.

The usual treatments were bloodletting, purgatives, and lancing the buboes and then applying an ointment made from Armenian clay, an iron-rich oxide whose healing properties were much praised by Galen. Other poultices, especially those made from violets, were also recommended. But many doctors thought that there was no sure cure, and so recommended prayer as the best preventive and therapeutic measure. Fatalistic or perhaps stoic resignation seems to have been the most typical way of thinking in the time of plague.

Thus, Gdańsk's position as a busy maritime city in the seventeenth century made its inhabitants particularly vulnerable both to plague and to more ordinary illnesses and injuries. The fact that much of its population was single and transient meant that illness was sometimes a community rather than individual or family concern. So while medical care was primarily personal and colored by religious beliefs, Gdańsk also responded to the social problems of plague and death with a rudimentary form of

community health care through guilds, town council decrees, and advances in medical knowledge. Nonetheless, these words written by city clerk Michael Hancke in the 1630s:

> *Drum sorg, und sorg auch nicht zu viel*
> *Es geschicht doch was Got haben wil.*[52]
>
> (Therefore take heed, but not too strongly,
> What God wills will take place after all.)

expressed the most typical attitude of Gdańsk's inhabitants not only toward plague, but also toward each illness, in spite of the development of medical theories and medical practice in that early modern maritime city.

52. Michael Hancke, *The Diary*, Ibid., MS 915, p. 10.

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The Sinking of HMS *Firedrake* and the Battle for Convoy ON 153

DAVID SYRETT

THE Battle of the Atlantic was the longest naval battle of World War II, beginning on 1 September 1939 and ending on 7 May 1945. By December 1942, after some forty months of fighting, it must have appeared to the Allies that victory in the Atlantic was still very distant, for when an Allied convoy encountered U-boats in the North Atlantic the Germans were usually the victors. The figures speak for themselves. In December 1942 the Allies lost to enemy U-boats sixty merchant ships totalling 330,816 tons while at the same time the Germans had only five U-boats sunk.[1] The reasons for this great loss of ships to U-boats were far from clear to most Allied observers at the time. In hindsight it is clear that the strategy of convoy was sound[2] and that the Allied weakness lay in the inability to provide convoys with a properly conducted defense. This weakness was sharply highlighted by the Battle for Convoy ON 153 during the second and third weeks of December 1942.

On 13 December the *Befhlshaber de U-boot* [BdU] deployed fourteen U-boats[3] in a patrol line code named "Raufbold," west of Ireland from approximately 54°N 26'W to 52°N 22'W, in an attempt to intercept Allied convoys running west southwest from the North Channel between Ireland and Scotland to North America.[4] The Allies were unaware of the existence and location of the Raufbold patrol line even though they were at the time reading the coded command radio transmissions of the BdU.[5] But sometimes there were delays or lags between the time that a coded German radio transmission was intercepted and when it was rendered into plane text by the code breakers. In the case of the order setting up the Raufbold patrol line the Allies did not read it until 1510 on 16 December 1942, which was some hours after ON 153 had been intercepted.[6]

ON 153 assembled for the voyage to North America on 12 December near Altacarry off the west coast of Scotland. The convoy consisted of thirty-nine merchant ships escorted by B7 Escort Group. The ships of this escort group were the destroyers HMS *Firedrake* (senior officer) and HMS *Chesterfield* and the corvettes HMS *Pink*, HMS *Sunflower*, HMS *Alisma*, and HMS *Snowflake*. HMS *Firedrake* and HMS *Chesterfield* were equipped with HF/DF.[7] The escorts took up screening positions around the merchant ships as the convoy headed out into the Atlantic in a general southwesterly direction. On 14 December the merchant ship *Bornholm* was forced to leave the convoy and return to the Clyde.[8]

On 15 December the weather began to deteriorate and the Admiralty radioed the convoy that "Inconclusive D/F bearing on 1510 Kcs at 0030Z suggests U-boat in your vicinity which may have reported you."[9] Five hours later

1. S. W. Roskill, *The War at Sea, 1939-1945* (London, 1956), vol. 2, pp. 469, 485.

2. Admiralty Historical Section, *The Defeat of the Enemy Attack on Shipping, 1939-1945* (London, 1954).

3. U-611, U-623, U-610, U-135, U-600, U-211, U-439, U-155, U-69, U-356, U-167, U-621, U-203, U-409, Public Record Office, DEFE 3/705, transmitted 1116/14/12/42, decrypted 1745/16/12/41. Hereafter this archive will be cited as PRO.

4. Ministry of Defense (Navy), *The U-boat War in the Atlantic* (London, 1989), vol. 2, p. 69.

5. F.H. Hinsley et. al., *British Intelligence in the Second World War* (London, 1981) vol. 2, pp. 551-552. Perhaps the best short account of the effects of code breaking on the Battle of the Atlantic is Jurgen Rohwer, "The Operational Use of 'Ultra' in the Battle of the Atlantic," *Intelligence and International Relations, 1900-1945*, eds. Christopher Andrew and Jeremy Noakes (Exeter, 1987), pp. 275-292.

6. PRO, DEFE 3/705, transmitted 2056/13/12/42, decrypted 1510/16/12/42.

7. High frequency direction finder.

8. PRO, ADM 237/94, Commanding Officer HMS *Sunflower* to Commodore, Londonderry, 26 Dec. 1942.

9. PRO, ADM 237/94, HMS *Sunflower*: ON 153, Signal A.

the Admiralty again radioed ON 153 that "Additional bearing indicates U-boat considerably further west than estimated."[10] These radio transmissions could have come from the Buffel group of U-boats which were hunting for convoy HX 218 to the westward of ON 153.[11] But later that day ON 153 ran into the Raufbold patrol line, was sighted by the U-356, and was reported to the BdU. At 1309 the BdU radioed the Raufbold patrol line that "RUDLOFF [U-356] REPORTS: ENEMY IS IN NAVAL GRID SQUARE AL 8119, SPEED 7 KNOTS, 240 DEGREES."[12] This radio transmission was soon followed by a sighting report from the U-609 stating that "CONVOY OF 16 TO 20 SHIPS IN AL 8119, 240 DEGREES."[13] Even though there were at least two other sighting reports radioed by the U-356 and the U-609[14] the escorts of ON 153 apparently failed to pick up these radio transmissions on their HF/DF sets.

At 1745 the escorts took up their night stations. HMS *Firedrake* was off the bow of the convoy. HMS *Chesterfield* was astern while HMS *Sunflower* and HMS *Snowflake* were on the starboard and port bows of the convoy. HMS *Alisma* and HMS *Pink* were off the port starboard and stern quarters of the convoy. ON 153 was steaming at a speed of eight knots on a course of 205 degrees. The weather was partly cloudy and squally with the wind out of the southwest at force 6. At 2115 HMS *Firedrake* picked up a radio transmission on her HF/DF set bearing 104 degrees. HMS *Sunflower*, HMS *Alisma*, and HMS *Chesterfield* were ordered to sweep down the bearing to a depth of six miles. While conducting this sweep HMS *Sunflower* and HMS *Alisma* saw a "flash like explosion" which was reported to the senior officer in HMS *Firedrake*. But no orders were received from the commander of the escort and the sweep was continued. Nothing, however, was found during the sweep and the warships returned to their stations in the screen on the convoy by 2300.[15] The explosion heard by the two escorts while conducting the sweep might have been torpedoes fired by the U-356 going off at the end of their runs.[16]

During the next several hours, U-boats made reports of sighting ON 153 to the BdU.[17] These radio transmissions apparently were not picked up by the escort's HF/DF sets. Then at 0610 the U-610 torpedoed the Norwegian tanker *Bello* which sank in four minutes and two minutes later the British tanker *Regent Lion* was hit with one torpedo and took nine hours to sink.[18] When the U-610's torpedoes hit the two Allied ships the senior officer of the escort ordered a "raspberry," which is a sweep through and astern of the convoy, in search of the attacking U-Boat. But this order was canceled when HMS *Chesterfield* sighted a U-boat. While closing with the stern of the convoy, HMS *Chesterfield* sighted a U-boat off her starboard beam at a range of 500 yards. The destroyer's wheel was put hard over and one engine put hard astern in an effort to turn quickly towards the U-boat. But with the heavy seas then running the British destroyer could not turn fast enough to ram the U-boat. HMS *Chesterfield* opened fire with a 12 pounder gun and got off three rounds before the U-boat dived.[19] Later the commander of HMS *Chesterfield* was taken to task for not immediately attacking by eye with a full pattern of depth charges. But rather the British warship first obtained a sonar contact which was then lost as sonar conditions "were extremely bad." A search was then mounted and twenty-three minutes later a sonar contact was obtained at a range of 400 yards. HMS *Chesterfield* attacked, dropping a pattern of ten depth charges without result. The contact was regained and a hedgehog[20] attack was mounted. But this "was a very scrambling affair as the recorder was broken down for part of the attack." HMS *Alisma* then joined the hunt and made a depth charge attack after which both ships lost sonar contact. A hunt for the U-boat was again undertaken which lasted for several hours without result, and then both ships steamed to the damaged tanker *Regent Lion*, which was dead in the water. During the course of this hunt HMS *Alisma*'s sonar broke down and could not be repaired during the rest of the voyage.[21]

When the tanker *Bello* was torpedoed HMS *Pink* carried out a sweep in the direction of the explosion and

10. PRO, ADM 237/94, HMS *Sunflower*: ON 153, Signal B.

11. *The U-Boat War*, vol. 2, p. 69.

12. PRO, DEFE 3/706, intercepted 1309/15/12/42, decrypted 0714/4/1/43.

13. PRO, DEFE 3/706, intercepted 1339/15/12/42, decrypted 1320/4/1/43.

14. PRO, DEFE 3/706, intercepted 1506/15/12/42, decrypted 1320/4/1/43.

15. PRO, ADM 237/94, Commanding Officer HMS *Sunflower* to Commodore, Londonderry, 26 Dec. 1942.

16. PRO, DEFE 3/706, intercepted 2329/15/12/42, decrypted 0852/4/1/43.

17. E.g., PRO, DEFE 3/706, intercepted 2358/15/12/42, decrypted 0850/4/1/43; intercepted 0109/16/12/42, decrypted 1057/4/1/43.

18. Jurgen Rohwer, *Axis Submarine Successes* (Annapolis, MD, 1983), p. 141.

19. This U-boat is most likely the U-211. PRO, DEFE 3/706, intercepted 0222/16/12/42, decrypted 0830/4/1/43.

20. A mortar-like weapon that throws bombs forward of the vessel and these explode on contact with the U-boat.

21. PRO, 237/94, Commanding Officer HMS *Chesterfield* to Commander Task Force 24, 26 Dec. 1942; Remarks by Commodore Commanding Londonderry: Escort Force-Convoy ON 153.

soon found herself among the survivors of the tanker. There were no orders from the senior officer of the escort or illuminates fired during this period, and the commander of HMS *Pink* decided to circle the survivors and radioed for permission, which was granted, to pick up the *Bello*'s crew. The *Bello* had been torpedoed twice in the engine room and had sunk quickly leaving a lot of oil on the surface of the sea. Only seven members of the *Bello*'s crew had escaped from the tanker, and they were quickly picked up by HMS *Pink*. When the last survivors from the *Bello* had been picked up, dawn was breaking and the damaged tanker *Regent Lion*, dead in the water, could be seen from the British corvette.[22]

The *Regent Lion* had been torpedoed once in the engine room and was not in immediate danger of sinking. Her captain requested that HMS *Pink* give the *Regent Lion* a tow. But when the request was reported to HMS *Firedrake* the senior officer of the escort turned it down. HMS *Pink* was ordered instead to rejoin the main body of the convoy. By this time HMS *Alisma* and HMS *Chesterfield* had arrived off the *Regent Lion*. The tanker's crew then took to her boats and forty-six of them were picked up with some difficulty owing to the heavy seas by HMS *Chesterfield*. The commander of HMS *Chesterfield* later reported that the master of the *Regent Lion* "was most irate at being ordered to abandon his ship." After picking up the crew of the *Regent Lion* HMS *Chesterfield* and HMS *Alisma* steamed to rejoin ON 153.[23]

After the torpedoing of the *Bello* and the *Regent Lion*, ON 153 continued on a course of 205 degrees at a speed of five knots leaving HMS *Alisma*, HMS *Pink*, and HMS *Chesterfield* astern. The convoy was still being shadowed by U-boats. The U-609 reported to the BdU at 1006 that "AM SENDING BEACON SIGNALS IN ACCORDANCE WITH WAR ORDER."[24] And at 1636 the U-155 radioed the BdU "ENEMY IS IN SQUARE BE 1116. COURSE WEST, 5 KNOTS."[25] The BdU at 1954 directed that the U-boats attacking ON 153 "KEEP RESOLUTELY AT IT. ESCORTS ARE POWERLESS IN THIS WEATHER...USE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO ATTACK."[26]

As ON 153 steamed west the weather continued to deteriorate. By noon a strong gale was blowing and there was a heavy sea and a strong swell. At 1624 the convoy changed course to 259 degrees and at 1625 HMS *Pink* rejoined. At 1900 the convoy was making a speed of five knots in heavy seas. There were thirty-six merchant ships in ten columns. HMS *Firedrake* was off the starboard bow, HMS *Sunflower* was on the port beam, and HMS *Pink* was on the starboard stern quarter of ON 153. And HMS *Chesterfield* and HMS *Alisma* were still some thirty miles astern of the convoy and rejoining.[27]

At 1910 the U-644 torpedoed the Belgian merchant ship *Emile Francqui* with two torpedoes. The convoy was immediately illuminated with snowflakes.[28] The escorts began to search for the U-boat. HMS *Pink* in heavy seas came upon the merchant ship *St. Bertrand* which was stopped among the survivors from the *Emile Francqui*. The *St. Bertrand*'s "position was impossible in such weather and dangerous, as she was a sitting target..." HMS *Pink* ordered the *St. Bertrand* to rejoin the convoy and the corvette picked up about twenty survivors in three boats from the *Emile Francqui* "under most difficult and contrary conditions." But a fourth boat containing some twenty-five people including two women and two children was not found. It was later thought that this boat might have been run down or overturned by one of the ships of the convoy for it was last seen pulling for the main body of ON 153. HMS *Pink* searched for the missing boat for some time and did not rejoin the convoy until 1010Z/17.[29]

At 1940 HMS *Snowflake* obtained a radar contact bearing 255 degrees. This contact was thought to be HMS *Firedrake* and was reported as such. HMS *Snowflake* then returned to her station off the starboard bow to the convoy and "exchanged identities" with HMS *Firedrake* by visual signal. HMS *Firedrake* then took up a position bearing 275 degrees at a range of 4200 yards from HMS *Snowflake*. At 2001 HMS *Firedrake* moved to the starboard side of the convoy and was from HMS *Snowflake* "plainly visible at 5000 yards in the bright moonlight when taking out this position...." At 2345 HMS *Snowflake*'s radar broke down. And at 0104 HMS

22. PRO, ADM 237/94, Narrative of Events Convoy ON 153 [HMS *Pink*]; On board HMS *Pink* on the 17th Dec. 1942; Master of the *Bello*'s statement.

23. PRO, ADM 237/94, Narrative of Events Convoy ON 153 [HMS *Pink*]; Commanding Officer HMS *Chesterfield* to Commander Task Force 24, 26 Dec. 1942; Report of an Interview with the master, Captain V. Jury, M.V. *Regent Lion*, 9 Feb. 1943.

24. PRO, DEFE 3/706, intercepted 1006/16/12/42, decrypted 1310/4/1/43.

25. PRO, DEFE 3/706, intercepted 1636/16/12/42, decrypted 1159/4/1/42.

26. PRO, DEFE 3/707 intercepted 1954/16/12/42, decrypted 1419/4/1/43.

27. PRO, ADM 237/94, Commanding Officer HMS *Sunflower* to Commodore, Londonderry, 26 Dec. 1942.

28. Bright white flares.

29. PRO, ADM 237/94, Narrative of Events: Convoy ON 153 [HMS *Pink*].

Snowflake attempted to contact HMS *Firedrake* by radio telephone, but there was no answer.[30]

HMS *Firedrake* had disappeared. She had been torpedoed by the U-211.[31] It took the other escorts some time to realize what had happened to HMS *Firedrake*. HMS *Pink*, who had just rejoined the convoy, was crossing from the port to the starboard side of the formation and at 0010Z, in the approximate position 50°45'N 25°24'W, reported to HMS *Firedrake* that she had rejoined ON 153. HMS *Firedrake* replied "Vinegar Fevor" which meant "From Firedrake" which was the last signal from her and meant that she was torpedoed just after 0010Z/17.[32]

HMS *Firedrake* was about 5,000 yards from the port side of the convoy, making about five knots, and not zigzagging when a single torpedo fired by the U-211 hit her on the starboard side, most likely in No. 1 boiler room. The ship listed to starboard, then righted herself and then broke in half in about a minute after the torpedo exploded. In the heavy seas the bow of the destroyer floated away pointing skyward at a vertical angle and sank thirty minutes later. Men could be seen in the bright moonlight hanging on to the bow until it sank. The stern section of HMS *Firedrake* remained afloat on an even keel with about thirty-five survivors on board. The men on the stern section jettisoned the depth charges and torpedoes and prepared rafts and floats in case they had to take to the water. After some time the men on the stern section of HMS *Firedrake* realized that the other escorts of the convoy did not know that the destroyer had been torpedoed, so they fired a star shell from Q gun to signal the other escorts.[33]

At 0045Z HMS *Sunflower* saw a star shell explode on a bearing of 330 degrees. HMS *Alisma*, who was rejoining the convoy from the stern, radioed HMS *Firedrake* and asked who had fired the star shell. But HMS *Alisma* got no reply to her question. Then HMS *Sunflower* attempted to radio HMS *Firedrake* and also got no reply from the destroyer. The commander of HMS *Sunflower*, Lieutenant Commander Treasure-Jones, asked by radio telephone all the other escorts if they had fired a star shell and received negative answers. Treasure-Jones then informed the other escorts that he could not raise HMS *Firedrake* on the radio telephone and that he was assuming command of the escort group. HMS *Sunflower* then steamed down the bearing of the star shell. At 0111Z the corvette obtained a radar contact, but this turned out to be the merchant ship *St. Bernard* who was rejoining the convoy. Having sighted nothing by 0140Z, HMS *Sunflower* began to rejoin ON 153. But at 0153Z a star shell was seen to burst on a bearing of 60 degrees. HMS *Sunflower* asked the other escorts if they had fired a star shell and received negative answers. At 0200Z a radar contact was obtained and some flashing lights were seen. HMS *Sunflower* then fired a star shell and discovered the stern section of HMS *Firedrake*.[34]

When HMS *Sunflower* found the stern section of HMS *Firedrake* there was a Force 7 gale blowing, the sea was extremely rough, and the swell was very heavy. After circling the wreck Treasure-Jones decided that it was impossible to go alongside the remains of HMS *Firedrake* to take the men off, and he decided to wait until daylight to pick up the survivors. But at 0330Z the stern section of the destroyer began to sink. The men on it took to the water. And from then until 0520Z HMS *Sunflower* attempted to pick up what remained of the crew of HMS *Firedrake*. It was a difficult task with the heavy sea running, and many of the men in the water were too exhausted to climb up the scramble nets along the side of HMS *Sunflower*. Seamen from the corvette had to go over the side and help the survivors of HMS *Firedrake* on board. In the end only twenty-five men were picked up by HMS *Sunflower*. There were no survivors from the bow section of the destroyer for it appears that most of HMS *Firedrake*'s crew were trapped forward and were either killed or drowned when she broke in two. At 0545Z the loss of HMS *Firedrake* was reported to C-in-C Western Approaches. At daylight HMS *Sunflower*, not finding any more survivors from HMS *Firedrake*, began to rejoin ON 153. But owing to the rough seas the corvette could only make eleven knots. Also at this time the heavy seas swept away HMS *Sunflower*'s sonar dome putting her sonar out of action for the rest of the voyage. HMS *Sunflower* did not rejoin the convoy until daylight of 18 December.[35]

After the torpedoing of HMS *Firedrake* ON 153 continued to steam west in very heavy seas. But the U-boats were still following the convoy. At 1205 the U-155 radioed "AT 1235 CONVOY IN NAVAL GRID SQUARE BD 3346. COURSE 260 DEGREES SPEED 4

30. PRO, ADM 237/94. Commanding Officer HMS *Sunflower* to Commodore, Londonderry, 26 Dec. 1942.

31. PRO, DEFE 3/107, intercepted 0148/17/12/42, decrypted 1550/4/1/43.

32. PRO, ADM 237/94, Narrative of Events: Convoy ON 153 [HMS *Pink*].

33. PRO, ADM 237/94, Lt. D. J. Dampier to Commander Task Force 24, 19 Dec. 1942.

34. PRO, ADM 237/94, Commanding Officer HMS *Sunflower* to Commodore, Londonderry, 26 Dec. 1942; Lt. D. J. Dampier to Commander Task Force 24, 19 Dec. 1942; Remarks by Commodore Commanding Londonderry Escort Force — Convoy ON 153.

35. Ibid.

KNOTS."[36] And at 2222 the U-623 reported "AM SENDING BEACON SIGNALS."[37] But even with these contact reports the U-boats operating against ON 153 were informed by the BdU that "REFUELING OF 'RAUFBOLD' GROUP NOT POSSIBLE. BOATS ARE TO COMMENCE RETURN PASSAGE ACCORDINGLY."[38]

At 0910Z a VLR B-24 Liberator aircraft[39] appeared over the convoy. At the request of the commander of HMS *Alisma*, the aircraft carried out a "cobra" search, or sweep around the perimeter of the convoy.[40] During the course of this search a U-boat was sighted ahead of ON 153 and forced to submerge. The U-boat was reported to HMS *Chesterfield* and the convoy altered course to avoid the enemy vessel. The VLR B-24 Liberator then stayed with the convoy for several hours before returning to base in Iceland.[41] The U-boat forced to dive ahead of the convoy was most likely the U-621 who reported to the BdU that "AT 1045 ALARM FOR A/C SIMILAR TO KONDOR." The U-621 then promptly lost contact with ON 153.[42] However, four other U-boats[43] operating against ON 153 sighted the aircraft but were not seen by it in the heavy seas.[44] This brief intervention in the battle by one aircraft shows the great effects that air power could have on a convoy battle. But the state of the weather as well as the shortage of VLR aircraft[45] prevented a greater use of aircraft by the Allies in this battle.

At 1255 ON 153 returned to a base course of 260 degrees and then at 1440 to 250 degrees. Just after the convoy changed course HMS *Chesterfield* picked up a HF/DF bearing of 56 degrees, but the senior officer of the escort, the captain of HMS *Alisma* in the absence of HMS *Sunflower* who was still astern of the convoy, decided not to take any action because the U-boat was astern of ON 153. But at 1330 the commodore[46] of the convoy reported that one of the merchant ships saw a U-boat's periscope. The commander of HMS *Alisma* thought that this report had to be false because he believed that no U-boats could stay at periscope depth in such a heavy sea. Nevertheless, HMS *Pink* was sent to investigate and she dropped three depth charges by eye as "a precautionary measure even though the waves were 40 TO 50 FEET IN HEIGHT." And at 1437 the Admiralty radioed the convoy that it estimated that there were probably eight U-boats in the vicinity of the convoy. But the commander of HMS *Alisma* took no action on this report because he "had no evidence sufficiently strong to recommend any alteration of course for the night." Shortly afterwards this conclusion was reinforced when HMS *Chesterfield* obtained another HF/DF bearing astern of the convoy. At 1132 HMS *Sunflower* rejoined ON 153.[47]

The chief enemy of ON 153 was now the weather. The wind was Force 7, and it frequently reached Force 10 and 11, and from 0200 to 0600 on 22 December it was hurricane force.[48] At 1052/19 at 49° 40'N, 29° 40'W HMS *Chesterfield* was detached to St. Johns, Newfoundland owing to a lack of fuel. The British destroyer just made St. Johns after battling through heavy seas for she ran out of fuel just inside the harbor boom and had to be towed to the oiler.[49]

The U-boats attacking ON 153 were also having a difficult time of it owing to the heavy seas. At 0158/18 the U-600 reported a fire and that she had lost contact with ON 153.[50] And at 1554/18 the U-155 radioed "NO CONTACT, RAIN, FOG"[51] At 1451 the U-600 reported that she was returning to base,[52] and at 1554 the U-155

36. PRO, DEFE 3/705, intercepted 1205/17/12/42, decrypted 1421/22/12/42.

37. PRO, DEFE 3/705, intercepted 2222/17/12/42, decrypted 1918/22/12/42.

38. PRO, DEFE 3/705, intercepted 1714/17/12/42, decrypted 1818/22/12/42.

39. A VLR Liberator is a four engine aircraft which has been modified to increase its range to 2,600 nautical miles carrying 1,500 pounds of depth charges. PRO, AIR 20/1065, Minutes by VCAS, 18 May 1943; Appendix 1 and 2, to C-in-C Coastal Command 31 May 1943. The document gives specific details of the modifications.

40. Ottawa, National Defense Headquarters, D. Hist., Eastern Air Command Operational Instructions B.R. Operations, Air Patrols.

41. PRO, AIR 27/911, 17 Dec. 1942.

42. PRO, DEFE 3/706, intercepted 1242/17/12/42, decrypted 1126/3/1/43.

43. U-135, U-155, U-600, U-610.

44. PRO, DEFE 3/705, intercepted 1505/17/12/42, decrypted 1529/22/12/42; intercepted 1440/17/12/32, decrypted 2131/22/12/42; intercepted 1351/17/12/42, decrypted 1540/22/42; DEFE 3/706, intercepted 1333/17/12/42, decrypted 1258/4/1/43.

45. *Cf.*, David Syrett and W.A.B. Douglas, "Die Wende in der Shlacht in Atlantik; Die Schliebung des Gonland-Luftlochs, 1942-1943," *Marine-Rundschau* (Jan.-Feb., March-April, May-June, 1986), vol. 83, pp. 2-11, 70-73, 147-149.

46. The commander of the merchant ships of the convoy.

47. PRO, ADM 237/94, Commanding Officer HMS *Alisma* to Commanding Officer HMS *Sunflower*, 25 Dec. 1942; Narrative of Events; Convoy ON 153 [HMS *Pink*].

48. PRO, ADM 237/94, Commanding Officer HMS *Sunflower* to Commodore, Londonderry, 26 Dec. 1942.

49. PRO, ADM 237/94, Commanding Officer HMS Chesterfield to Commander Task Force 24, 26 Dec. 1942.

50. PRO, DEFE 3/705, intercepted 0158/18/12/42.

51. PRO, DEFE 3/705, intercepted 1105/18/12/42, decrypted 2120/22/12/42.

52. PRO, DEFE 3/705, intercepted 1451/18/12/42, decrypted 2128/22/12/42.

again radioed the BdU that she "HAD COMMENCED RETURN PASSAGE...ON ACCOUNT OF WEATHER UTMOST SPEED 7 KNOTS."[53] The heavy weather was now proving to be a greater hindrance to the U-boats in their operations against ON 153 than the convoy's escorts.

At 1156Z on 19 December the convoy was forced to hove to because the wind and the sea which were now on the port beam of the ships made it dangerous to hold the present course. The ships of ON 153 steered into the wind making no headway in the heavy seas for some four hours until the wind veered to the southwest and the convoy then continued on its way, steering a course of 210 degrees at a speed of five knots.[54]

On 19 December several U-boats were still in contact with ON 153. At 0430 the U-621 reported that "CONVOY IN NAVAL GRID SQUARE BD 2668, 240 DEGREES."[55] And the BdU five hours later radioed the U-boats still chasing ON 153 that in the last two days the convoy had not done more than three and one-half knots and that the operation should continue for the "CONVOY HAS PERHAPS BEEN LARGELY DISPERSED. SEARCH FOR IT AS WELL AS THE WEATHER ALLOWS."[56] But the U-boats in the heavy weather lost contact and on 21 December the BdU ordered the four U-boats still pursuing ON 153 "TO BREAK OFF OPERATIONS AGAINST CONVOY AND STEER FOR NAVAL GRID SQUARE AK 99." However, due to delays in the code breaking process the Allies did not know of this order for several days after ON 153 had completed its voyage.[57]

HMS *Pink* found that part of her fuel oil had become contaminated with sea water and that she had only eight tons of clean fuel remaining. On 20 December HMS *Pink* wanted to refuel from the tanker *British Lady*, but the master of the tanker said that it was impossible in the heavy seas. As there seemed little chance of the weather improving, HMS *Pink* was detached at 1740/20 for the Azores where she arrived on 23 December.[58]

On 20 December there were only twenty-six ships in the convoy. Three ships had been sunk,[59] and ten ships had straggled during the night of 19/20 December in the heavy weather. The escort situation was also serious. With HMS *Firedrake* sunk and HMS *Chesterfield* and HMS *Pink* detached, the escort was reduced to the corvettes HMS *Sunflower*, HMS *Alisma*, and HMS *Snowflake*. None of these ships were equipped with HF/DF and HMS *Alisma*'s and HMS *Sunflower*'s sonars were not working. This was in any circumstances a very weak escort. And the situation seemed somewhat bleak to Treasure-Jones, for ON 153 was not yet half way to Newfoundland. Things were not made any better when at 2310 at 47° 20'N, 30° 06'W, HMS *Snowflake* reported two explosions bearing 100 degrees. Treasure-Jones ordered HMS *Snowflake* to sweep down the bearing. This was done to a depth of twelve miles and nothing was found. Treasure-Jones radioed the Admiralty, "Attacked 47-20 N, 33 W. Strong gale. Request immediate support." At 2310 the commodore of the convoy reported a radio signal from the merchant ship *Otina*, one of the stragglers from the convoy, that she had been torpedoed at 47°40'N, 33°06'W.[61] Because of the bad weather and the weak state of the escort, Treasure-Jones decided that he could not detach an escort to assist the *Otina*. As an evasive measure to "endeavour to shake off any possible shadowing," the convoy's course was changed at 2315 to 240 degrees, 2355 to 220 degrees, then at 1515/21 to 230 degrees, and then again at 2300/21 to 255 degrees. And Treasure-Jones again requested support from the Admiralty.[62]

The barometer began to fall at 2200 on 21 December, and the wind veered around to the south southeast. By 0200 on 22 December the wind was at Force 10, and by 0310 it had reached hurricane strength and visibility had dropped to zero. The convoy hove to on a course of 190 degrees at 45°30'N, 36°30'W and remained hove to until the storm abated. By 1000 on 22 December the storm had ended and all the merchant ships, except the *City of Lille*, which had straggled while the convoy hove to, were back in formation, steering 255 degrees, and making a speed of seven knots.[63]

The Allied command authorities, not knowing because of delays in decoding German radio transmissions that the

53. PRO, DEFE 3/705, intercepted 1554/18/12/42, decrypted 2112/22/12/42.

54. PRO, ADM 237/94, Commanding Officer HMS *Sunflower* to Commodore, Londonderry, 26 Dec. 1942.

55. PRO, DEFE 3/705, intercepted 0450/19/12/42, decrypted 2215/22/12/42.

56. PRO, DEFE 3/705, intercepted 0951/19/12/42, decrypted 0060/23/12/42.

57. PRO, DEFE 3/707, intercepted 2100/21/12/43.

58. PRO, ADM 237/94, Commanding Officer HMS *Sunflower* to Commodore, Londonderry, 26 Dec. 1942; Narrative of Events; Convoy ON 153 [HMS *Pink*].

59. *Bello, Regent Lion, Emile Francqui.*

60. *Santos, Antillachus, Candana, Vaalaren, Marquessa, Otina, Empire Grenadier, George W. McKnight, Jan Van Goyen.*

61. The *Otina* was torpedoed by the U-621. Rohwer, *Axis Submarine Successes*, p. 142.

62. PRO, ADM 327/94, Commanding Officer HMS *Sunflower* to Commodore Londonderry, 26 Dec. 1942; HMS *Sunflower* ON 153, Signals K and L.

63. PRO, ADM 237/94, Commanding Officer HMS *Sunflower* to Commodore Londonderry, 26 Dec. 1942.

BdU had ended operations against ON 153, decided, because of the weak state of the escort, to reinforce the convoy. At 1420 on 23 December the destroyer USS *Cole* joined ON 153 and at 1645 HMCS *Timmins*, HMCS *Buctouche* and HMCS *Edmundston* also joined the convoy's escort. And at 1700Z on 24 December, at the request of the American authorities at Newfoundland, HMCS *Buctouche* was detached to search for a disabled merchant ship which was not a member of the convoy. The convoy was further reinforced at 2000 on 25 December by the USS *Dallas*, HMCS *Annapolis*, and HMCS *Minas*. One half an hour later Treasure-Jones handed ON 153's papers over to the captain of HMCS *Annapolis*, and HMS *Sunflower*, HMS *Snowflake*, and HMS *Alisma* were detached from the convoy, ending the operation and proceeded to Argentia, Newfoundland.[64]

The battle for Convoy ON 153 was not an Allied victory. Four merchant ships[65] and the destroyer HMS *Firedrake* were lost to enemy action. No U-boats were sunk by the escorts. But the Germans should have done better than they did with some fourteen U-boat operating against the convoy. Circumstances, however, were against them. Some of the U-boats were short of fuel and the weather cut down the mobility of the U-boats and in the end forced the Germans to break off the operation. At first the BdU seemed to think that the heavy weather would work in favor of the U-boats.[66] But ON 153's commodore was probably much closer to the mark when he wrote in his report that "By God's mercy this heavy weather undoubtedly saved more losses to the convoy."[67] It is fair to say that the bad weather did more to protect ON 153 than the convoy's escorts.

The Allies made many mistakes in the battle for ON 153. Lags and delays in decoding German command radio transmissions meant that the Allies did not know of the location and existence of the Raufbold patrol line in time to reroute ON 153 away from it and thus avoid the need to fight the battle at all. The loss of HMS *Firedrake* was owing to poor tactics. The reports of Commander D, at Argentia, Newfoundland and the report of the Commander of Task Force 24 made this point very clearly. HMS *Firedrake* was four miles down moon from the convoy and unsupported and the destroyer had been on a steady course at a speed of five knots for two hours. Radar and sonar conditions were not good. The Commander of Task Force 24 was close to the truth when he reported that "It is assumed that the danger of such produce is well realized by all ships engaged in escort work."[68]

Two escorts had to be detached from ON 153 owing to lack of fuel and HMS *Alisma* and HMS *Sunflower* arrived at Argentia, Newfoundland with only 9.5 and 12.3 percent of their fuel remaining. The reason for this was the bad weather and the fact that British escorts were relatively short ranged when compared to American ones. The escorts of ON 153, as pointed out by Treasure-Jones and the Commander of Task Force 24, should have been refuelled from a tanker with the convoy before encountering bad weather. HMS *Chesterfield* and HMS *Pink* could have been refuelled during the first two days of the voyage. But this was not done. The Commander of Task Force 24 also thought that the Royal Navy and the Royal Canadian Navy should increase the range of their escorts by removing one oiler from destroyers and using the space for additional fuel tanks.[69] The British in fact did modify a number of destroyers in this way.[70] However, what is not stated in the reports is that there appears to have been an HF/DF failure. HMS *Chesterfield* only picked up on her HF/DF set nine bearings on U-boat radio transmissions near ON 153.[71] If more HF/DF bearings had been obtained, maybe the escorts could have had a better knowledge of the activities of the U-boats operating against ON 153. Also, equipment failures owing in part to the heavy weather greatly reduced the number of sonar sets available to the escorts during the passage of ON 153. What was clear from the Battle for ON 153 was that if the Allies were going to win the Battle of the Atlantic then they had to institute a number of improvements in the tactics and techniques of convoy protection.

64. PRO, ADM 237/94, Commanding Officer HMS *Sunflower* to Commodore Londonderry, 26 Dec. 1942.

65. *Bello, Regent Lion, Emile Francqui, Otina.*

66. PRO, DEFE 3/107, intercepted 1954/16/12/42, decrypted 1419/4/1/43.

67. PRO, ADM 237/94, E. Manners, Convoy ON 153.

68. PRO, ADM 237/94, Commanding Officer HMS *Sunflower* to Commodore, Londonderry, 26 Dec. 1942; Commander Task Force Twenty Four to C-in-C Western Approaches 1 Feb. 1943.

70. M.J. Whitley, *Destroyers of World War Two, An International Encyclopedia* (Annapolis, MD, 1988), pp. 94-95.

71. PRO, ADM 237/94, Appendix No. 2 to Commanding Officer HMS *Sunflower*'s letter dated 26 Dec. 1942.

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Raiding Merchant Shipping: U-Boats on the North American Coast, 1942

KLAUS FRIEDLAND

COMPARED with the rather heroic images we now have of World War II, this report on the daily life of a submarine crew may be rather disappointing. It is in no way an unbiased report, since the aims, views, hopes, and efforts of a very young man are inevitably mirrored in the memory of this now very much older man. It is simply the story of one routine year of submarine warfare out of nearly seven, because this was the year I happened to be a submarine officer operating off the American east coast. On the other hand, my experience in that year, 1942, was characteristic of what happened to all German submarines in the last world war, and as such may be considered to have historical significance.

Let us begin by examining why this one year of my [s]even in the German Navy was so significant. The Navy [f]ollowed the so-called Z-Plan, or *Zersplitterung*, the [c]apture and dissipation of enemy naval forces by a great [n]umber of independent, long-range operating units. The plan called for large numbers of submarine cruisers — the so-called Type IX U-boats, which had a wide cruising range although they were slow in submerging. But only a small number of such vessels had been built when, at the beginning of 1942, another plan was put into effect. This second plan was Admiral Dönitz' *Rudeltaktik:* attacks by groups of U-Boats, otherwise known as "wolf packs," concentrated on enemy convoys. This strategy required many boats capable of diving and submerging quickly — the Type VII. A few had been built before the war but not in great numbers until 1941-42 when they became necessary for *Rudeltaktik.*

As early as a year later — at the end of 1942 — the Type VII boat should have been replaced in turn by a very quick underwater vessel. Such a U-boat had technically existed since 1933: the Walter U-boat with H_2O_2 (hydrogen peroxide) turbine drive. The Walter boat was capable of thirty knots underwater speed, compared with the three to six knots for up to twelve hours of the Type VII. But the Walter had not been developed. As background, therefore, keep in mind those three types: the cruiser Type IX, the quick-diving wolf pack tactic Type VII, and the quite new but unperfected Walter boat.

My history begins aboard a submarine — the U-332 — which, with two others, was the first Type VII to be sent to the American coast in January of 1942. The boat had been built at Emden in the Nordseewerke shipyard. Between October and December 1941 it made its way to Norway, the Arctic Sea, the North Atlantic, and France and started for North America on January 27, 1942.

U-332 made four war patrols in 1942, the longest 95 days, the shortest 13 days. In all, 236 of 365 days of that year were spent at sea. The first two of these voyages, in June and at the end of October, were without a tanker, one of them for 57 days. For the third and fourth voyage, the boat took on fuel and food from the U-tanker of Captain Wilamowitz-Moellendorff — the first boat of that type in mid-Atlantic action. My boat torpedoed lone merchantmen and particularly tankers on their way north to the Halifax area where the North Atlantic convoys were assembled.

The positions of the boat were located between the coasts of Long Island, New York, to South Carolina and, in October of '42, the Caribbean Sea and Guyana coast. "Positions" refers to locations in which, after arriving off the American coast, the boat had to remain stationary — on the bottom — in order to save fuel. (We shall come back to this point later.) One position we preferred was Cape Hatteras where, at night, any ship had to pass the light buoy. This buoy had not been extinguished, and a merchantman could easily be seen as a shadow passing by the unseen, invisible U-boat to the dark eastward. The crews of ships sunk in those shallow waters could leave without injury because the bridge and deck house remained above the surface.

In June 1942, American merchant ships were ordered by radio to sail further offshore, as presumably mines had been laid near the coast. This incorrect analysis may have been due to the British who, by April 1942, had spotted

the first "milk cow" tanker-boat leaving Kiel and thought from her size that she was a minelaying boat. Until that June order, the U-boat's position was slightly dangerous, as she had to lie motionless, aground, with only some four or five meters of water overhead. Steamer after steamer — with an average draft of seven to twelve meters — passed nearby but never collided with our sail. But when the ship routes and the boat's position were transferred seaward, this danger disappeared.

For people ashore and aboard the merchantmen, the U-boat obviously did not exist. They apparently felt that the mines would keep them away. So light houses and buoys were left shining. Coast Guard and patrol boats remained Coast Guard and patrol boats instead of being changed into anti-submarine squadrons. (We met some, but they did not follow us very far.) Public beach promenades were left illuminated with their bright sparkling neon lights along the coast highways. Lamps and lights in the houses shone to seaward. We could see people through their windows, sitting or moving about as if there were no danger from any submarine — and to them, at least, there was none.

For the U-boat crewmen behind their binoculars, this seemed to be a terrestrial counterworld to that of their own which, for weeks and months and entire seasons, had been the world of the sea — with the wind and the gales and the calms and the ice and the heat, the grand and terrifying and boring faces of the sea — their lives in this world being confined to a tube of four by fifty meters.

To some of today's naval historians it seems inconceivable that the Americans could have been so unprepared for and careless about the U-boats. But that point of view involves some misunderstandings. The official version for handbooks, volumes on war history, and so on runs like this: After Pearl Harbor (December 7, 1941) Admiral Dönitz immediately sent U-boats from French bases to the North American coast to raid merchant shipping around Newfoundland, the St. Lawrence, Nova Scotia, Cape Cod, and Cape Hatteras to Curaçao and Trinidad, concentrating on tanker traffic in that region. All this was a great initial success for Dönitz — the so-called *Paukenschlag* or "drum beat" action of January 1942. This resulted in 200,000 tons sunk and then in March as much as 500,000 tons sunk, compared with only some 50,000 in December — an indication of a well-developed strategy. Or so it seemed. Admiral Dönitz, according to the usual accounts, thus succeeded in concentrating more and more submarines along the American coasts and thereby realized an elaborate and promising plan, while the Americans had no idea of what really happened.

This interpretation, of course, is far from the truth. What seemed to be reliably planned was nothing more than a bundle of improvisation, and the *Paukenschlag* overture was followed by a theater drama lacking a last act. This could easily be seen from the bridge of a U-boat, as the sea at least was not crowded with submarines. The "drum beat" had been a unique, specialized operation of five long-range U-cruisers of the Type IX which were too few in number for prolonged operations.

And what about the more numerous medium-sized boats which formed the basis of Dönitz' "wolf pack" plans? Incredibly, they lacked the range to reach the American coast. Still more astonishing, these boats were nevertheless ordered to go. A Type VII boat had a fuel supply of 113 tons that lasted 7,900 miles. The distance from the French coast to Cape Hatteras and back is 8,500 miles. One boat that started out with ours managed to fill the gap by escorting an outgoing surface raider and refuelling to the brim out of this ship, an early improvisation which, later on, became routine with the "milk cows," the submarine tankers. My good friend Hannes Fuchslocher, chief engineer, invented another method on our boat: by filling the torpedo compensating tank and the freshwater tank with fuel we gained eighteen more tons. That is, with seventy miles a ton at normal speed, some 1260 miles surplus were gained. This was enough for the voyage westward and back at *normal* speed.

At seven miles an hour the trip took more than three weeks one way. It was too close a margin if speed had to be increased in operations, and it was *not* enough fuel to patrol along the coast. So we preferred to position ourselves off Cape Hatteras and the light buoy because we could remain stopped or at minimum speed at night and lie aground. We used diminished electrical light, and the crew slept or rested to save energy for filtering air. It was, on the other hand, impossible to use fresh water. Drinking water — not more than two cups per day per man — was produced by an electric distillation set, and it was impossible to launch torpedoes during the first 1,000 miles westward.

Since the boat was overloaded with food to extend her range in this respect as well, she could not submerge, as the compensation tanks could not balance out the underwater weight to enable suspended flotation. For these pioneer submarines, therefore, no attack and no defense was possible. And when the British air force began to attack the Bay of Biscay, this became a grave problem.

A second invention of our boat was the diesel-electric propulsion which saved another ten percent of fuel, at a speed of only seven and one-half knots. One of the two

diesel engines, alternating daily, turned one propeller shaft. One electric engine worked as a generator and produced electric power via the cells of the battery to the other electric engine, which turned the second propeller. It was still better and more effective if only one propeller was turned, for example, the starboard diesel/starboard E-engine, battery-port E-engine/port propeller. Although somewhat sophisticated, this technique became the most frequently used and cheapest propulsion available and is even used in some of today's passenger ships.

The food and fuel problems of the first pioneer boats were solved, in the middle of 1942, by the "milk cows," the U-tankers, with fuel, food, and surgical care, which were stationed in the mid-Atlantic. The tankers allowed us to forget, for instance, that in April, on our way back from the second voyage in 1942, after two months at sea, we had been confined to tinned strawberries and canned ham for a fortnight. A fortnight at sea restricted to only ham and strawberries is a very long time indeed.

All this shows that our greatest challenge was one of seamanship — more of a problem of crossing the Atlantic with a small, very movable, and very seaworthy vessel than of raiding merchant shipping. Success of the early boats off the American coast was based very much on their maritime efficiency, on inventive ingenuity, and on the quality of their navigation and navigators — a small reckoning mistake as to the ship's position could result in no return to base at all.

The pre-Walter U-boats in fact were not true underwater vessels but only ships with improved diving capabilities. They were ships sent on their way to cover great distances but were made efficient first and foremost by the adventurous minds of their crews — like the sailors who served in the classical age of sailing ships.

Those ships and crews had to deal with two essential operational questions. The *tactical* question centered on the fact that U-boats could be spotted by radar and destroyed if enough aircraft were available. We discovered this in September, when for the first time an aircraft spotted our boat at night, which could only have been possible using radar. Dönitz replied: Just keep your eyes open, use the binoculars, go slow, avoid marine phosphorescence. There is no radar, he said. Very soon it became obvious that this was wrong, that the brave U-boat Type VII was a ship of the past. The *strategic* consideration was that raiding merchant shipping, shrinking down the supply of an enemy by tonnage warfare, was already by mid-1942 a rather old-fashioned strategy.

Of course, Admiral Dönitz should, at the end of 1941, reasonably have thought of a new U-boat tactic, because in the meantime, the British Admiralty was able to route convoys safely based on the decrypts of signals from the German naval high command to its boats and vice versa, so that all ordered U-boat positions could be bypassed by the convoys. Losses to American shipping in the first months of 1942 would have been much heavier had not the British Bletchley Park cryptologists succeeded in avoiding further attacks from the summer of 1941 on. In addition, though war was *declared* not earlier than December 1941, the convoy losses, had they been more severe, would have faced Roosevelt as seriously as they had the British, since American support of the British was nothing else than a state of undeclared naval war against Hitler.

Would the 1942 action of submarines against American shipping along the east coast have been lethal if the Bletchley Park people had not broken the code, and if Roosevelt had not wisely delayed officially entering the war?

Aside from the always problematic historical question "what might have been if...," from the point of view of the participant the answer is "No." The technical and the tactical bases of the German U-boat campaign were provisional. The seaworthy type VII boat was not at all a modern machine of war that could compete with radar and high-speed, long-range aircraft. And the *Rudle* wolf pack tactic was based on the experience of a First World War U-boat officer, Dönitz. Improvisation, invention, and technical tricks of a few small ships opened the way to the west and the comparatively successful raids in the spring of 1942. They were not due to elaborate plans based on reliable facts.

In fact, raiding merchant shipping seems to have come from the centuries of the great naval power policy aimed at economy of forces; that is, what the French called the *guerre de course*. So, from the viewpoint of a participant, U-boats along the American coast was grand as an adventure for young men. But as a wartime tactic or strategy, it constituted little more than a nostalgic revival of the economic and commercial warfare of the past.

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Portraits of American Master Mariners

JANE E. ALLEN

The American master mariner (also known as the ship master or sea captain)[1] of a vessel during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had to be a man of great confidence, skill, and courage. He had to possess physical strength and stamina, and have a sharp business acumen. He needed diplomatic skills when bargaining with natives in strange new lands in order to procure water and provisions, or when following the tricky customs practices upon entering foreign ports. As the captain, he was responsible for the safe navigation and condition of the vessel and cargo, as well as the safety of passengers and crew. He frequently acted as surgeon for sick or injured crew members, dispensing medicines or amputating torn limbs. He needed to be clear headed to make quick decisions when commanding his vessel in stormy seas or entering rocky uncharted waters. In order to withstand long hours on deck, in all kinds of weather, he had to possess a strong physique. Responsible for signing on crew members, the master meted out punishment when they were disobedient in order to maintain his authority. Separated from family and friends, often for two to three years, the ship master endured loneliness, hardship and homesickness.

However, the main duty of the master of a merchant vessel was to see that his ship arrived safely at her intended destination and that her cargo was sold for the best possible price. As such, the venture was primarily a business pursuit. The master acted as agent for the owners of the vessel, and was usually one of several holding shares in the vessel. He had to be honest, trustworthy and keep accurate business records. According to Blunt's *The Shipmaster's Assistant, and Commercial Digest*, a mid-nineteenth century guide book for sea captains:

> The master of a vessel is the legal agent or representative of his owners, and is subject to the same rules as to honesty and good faith, as other agents. In cases which are not included in his written orders, and which depend upon his judgement alone, he is to act as if the property intrusted to him were his own.
>
> ... It should always be borne in mind, that the master is and ought to be the master of his own vessel. He ought to exercise and rely on his own judgement, for which he is responsible, and on which his character and reputation rest.[2]

Entrusted to carry cargoes worth fortunes, the sea captain's own financial standing depended on his skills as a mariner. As part owners of their vessels, captains could make considerable sums of money from their voyages. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, combining a salary of thirty dollars a month, five percent of the freight charges, twenty-five percent of the cabin passengers' fares, and the money paid for carrying the mail, packet captains could earn as much as $20,000 a year.[3]

Other captains carrying valuable cargoes from China such as tea, silks, and porcelains could make a great deal

1. According to Falconer's *1780 Universal Dictionary of the Marine*, a master of a ship of war in the Royal Navy was "to take charge of the navigating and conducting a ship from port to port, under the direction of the captain, or other of his superior officers." The master of a merchant ship was "the commanding officer who is appointed by the merchants to manage the navigation and everything relating to her cargo, voyage, sailors, etc." The Royal Naval captain was responsible for overall command of the ship including management of officers, equipment, navigation and engagement in battles. In the colonies, the terms became blurred. William Falconer, *An Universal Dictionary of the Marine* (London: Printed for T. Cadell, 1780), p. 191.

2. Joseph Blunt, *The Shipmaster's Assistant, and Commercial Digest* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851), p. 2, 23.

3. Eloise Engle and Arnold S. Lott, *America's Maritime Heritage* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1975), p. 111.

more. Richard Cleveland, a sea captain from Salem, Massachusetts, returned to Boston in 1804 with a cargo of silks worth $50,000.

> The result of this, with that of my former voyage, and my interest in Lelia Byrd under the direction of Mr. Shaler, would amount to about seventy thousand dollars ... clear of debt.[4]

At age thirty-one, Cleveland was a very rich man.

Men of such great wealth became leading figures in their communities and many, once they had made their fortunes, retired to their home towns to pursue shipbuilding, shipping, farming or political careers. Captain Nathaniel Silsbee of Salem, Massachusetts, became master of a vessel before he was twenty-one years old. He retired by age twenty-eight, becoming part owner of nineteen different vessels and a leading figure in Salem and Boston business circles. Silsbee served in Congress and the Senate from 1816 to 1835.[5]

Since they were men of wealth and social standing, it is not surprising to find that a great number sat for their portraits,[6] perhaps having their likenesses taken before separation from their families to hang as symbols of their continued presence in the family home or place of business.

One hundred and fifty-two examples of portraits of sea captains dating from 1690 through 1880 were surveyed for this study to determine if any clear patterns for portraiture would emerge. It is not surprising that the numbers of examples increased substantially during the period from the early nineteenth century until the outbreak of the Civil War. Considered the golden age of America's maritime history, this period encompassed the establishment of regular packet service, a flourishing trade with China and India, the great whaling boom of mid-century, the glamourous clipper ship era, the opening of Japan, the development of steam power and expansion of inland navigation, and the great influx of immigrants from Europe and Asia. During this stable period, unbroken by major wars after 1815, trade expanded and new routes were developed. Opportunities for young men were plentiful as the number of vessels increased:

> Ships were needed, and the shipyards began turning them out - more than 100,000 tons of shipping (ships weighing more than five tons each) just after the war [of 1812]; over 130,000 tons in 1826 and more than 250,000 tons in 1833.[7]

Besides ships, capable seamen were also needed, and most of them came from New England. Of the total sample of paintings surveyed, sixty-two, or 41%, were of captains from the New England states.[8] Salem, Marblehead, and Boston, Massachusetts, as well as other New England coastal towns, had been shipbuilding and shipping centers since early colonial settlement. In Salem, Massachusetts, in particular, sons followed their fathers to sea. As the fathers retired to their farms or other careers by the age of thirty, their twelve to fourteen year old sons put to sea, many becoming captains before the age of twenty.[9] The portraits of the early nineteenth century reflect this trend and show sea captains of a very young age, often in their early twenties or thirties.

However, as the century progressed the age of those depicted generally rose. By the period of 1845 to 1860, the sitters appear to be in their forties, fifties and sixties. As the country expanded westward, young men were drawn away from the harsh maritime life. Youths were attracted to the vast quantities of land available on the frontier. The California Gold Rush of 1848 drew people seeking quick fortunes by the hundreds. The development of railroads offered new career opportunities and helped speed the move away from the eastern seaboard, as well as creating new competition for shipping interests. By the end of the Civil War, shipping was in a general decline and the number of portraits from this period decreases dramatically. Expensive and time consuming portraiture may also have been replaced by the faster, cheaper method of having one's likeness taken — photography.

In portraiture, American master mariners are portrayed in several different manners. Three main patterns can be discerned. In the earliest portraits, those painted before

4. Walter Teller, ed., *Five Sea Captains* (New York: Atheneum Publishers, 1960), p. 209.

5. Walter Muir Whitehill, ed., *Portraits of Shipmasters and Merchants in the Peabody Museum* (Salem, MA: The Peabody Museum, 1939), pp. 121-122.

6. Although 152 examples were found for this study very few have been sufficiently catalogued, studied or published. The Peabody Museum of Salem published a catalogue of merchants and captains in its collection in 1939, but unfortunately an image for many of those listed was not included. Since the time of publication, at least seventy more examples, which were not available for study, have been added to the collection. The other institutions contacted by the author had few examples, and of those, most were uncatalogued. Examples which were available have been included here.

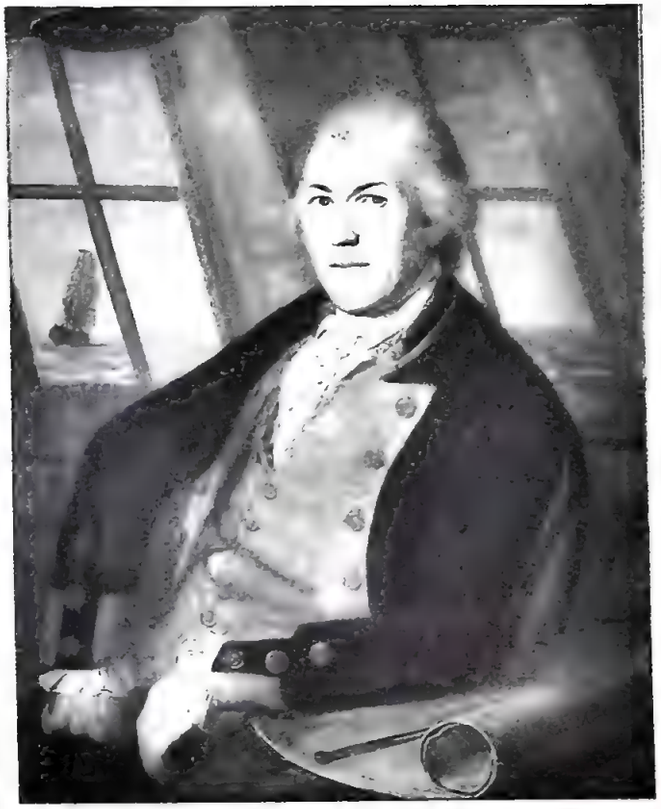
7. Engle and Lott, *America's Maritime Heritage*, p. 109.

8. This study may be slightly skewed because the majority of published examples of portraits are in the Peabody Museum of Salem collection.

9. Engle and Lott, *America's Maritime Heritage*, p. 67.

The 1774 portrait of Captain William Stone by Charles Wilson Peale illustrates the style of portraiture popular before 1800. From the collection of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.

1800, the master mariner is shown standing, elegantly clad in frock coat, vest and knee breeches in an outdoor setting with the symbols of his profession. Several symbols were used as conventions to signify the maritime profession: dividers, charts, globes, swords, naval uniforms, and of course, the spyglass. The spyglass is usually red, the painter's version of the leather casing. The spyglass was



Peale's portrait of Captain James Josiah, 1787, is unusual in that it pictures the master in the cabin of his vessel. Private collection, courtesy of the Schwarz Gallery, Philadelphia.

a particularly important instrument for the sea captain as it was used to sight breakers on reefs or shorelines, other vessels at sea, whether friend or foe, and for making a landfall.[10] It is interesting that the sextant (or octant), used for determining position at sea, is almost never used as a symbol associated with the captain.[11] It was used on shop signs to signify sellers of navigation instruments. In one unusual example of portraiture, the captain is depicted sitting in the captain's cabin of his vessel surrounded by the tools of his trade; chart, dividers, and here a navigation instrument, a tell-tale compass, has been included. In almost all of the portraits of this period, a vessel, usually that commanded by the master mariner depicted, is shown sailing in the background, further clarifying the subject's role in society. In these early portraits, the sea captain, self assured and confident, stands proudly entrenched in his external maritime world.

10. Teller, *Five Sea Captains*, pp. 146, 183, 312.

11. Of the sample of 152 paintings, only one painting of a sea captain holding his sextant was found. It is a portrait of Captain Thomas Sprigg (c. 1765-1833?) attributed to Joshua Johnson, dated 1805-1810. Johnson studied with the Peale family.

Typical of portraits of ship captains painted during the first half of the nineteenth century are those of Captain James Smith, attributed to Hubbard Latham Fordham (left), and an unidentified captain, attributed to Isaac Sheffield (right), both ca. 1835-40. Photos courtesy of Mystic Seaport Museum, Mystic, Connecticut.

Two patterns for sea captains' portraits emerge around 1800 and run concurrently to the Civil War. The captain, in both patterns, is almost always depicted as a half-length view (or bust) from the waist up. Of the 152 examples, 131 captains were depicted in this fashion. They are usually wearing a black coat with white shirt, white or black stock, and a beige or black vest. A gold or jeweled stickpin, watch fob or chain, or gold rings are their only adornment. Portrayed wearing fashionable attire, they achieve the longer leaner look of the nineteenth century.

The predominant pattern of depicting the American master mariner is that of the sea captain sitting in a wooden, or sometimes upholstered chair. He sits holding an object that connects him with his profession, perhaps pointing with a pair of dividers at a chart of the area where he has recently sailed, or he cradles his spyglass in his arm. Behind him, a richly draped window, usually in a red fabric, overlooks the sea. His vessel, under sail, careens by and sometimes a lighthouse is included in the view outside the window. Although the sea captain in these types of portraits is tied to his profession by the symbols included, he is somewhat distanced from his trade. He is no longer in the midst of an external world but rather removed to a domestic, comfortable interior and his profession is only alluded to through a window.

Naval captains are frequently depicted in this same position, although they are seen in their full dress uniform. The master of a naval vessel carried many of the same responsibilities as the master of the merchant vessel, but in addition he engaged in battle, pursued privateers or enemy vessels, and blockaded foreign ports. During the War of 1812 several naval captains performed feats of great courage and became heroic personages. Naval victories came at a time when American morale was at a low ebb and naval heroes such as Stephen Decatur, William Bainbridge, Isaac Hull and others captured the imagination of the American public. Their images were reproduced and were widely available as prints and on textiles and pottery.

Several of these naval heroes were painted by John Wesley Jarvis, who many thought to be the foremost portrait painter in New York during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Born in England, Jarvis was brought to Philadelphia as an infant and was working in New York

Gilbert Stuart's portrait of Commodore Isaac Chauncey, ca. 1815 (from the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Hermanowski) and Jacob Eicholtz's portrait of Commodore Richard Dale, ca. 1821 (courtesy of the Philadelphia Maritime Museum, the Robert McNeil Jr. Trust) illustrate that naval heroes were also painted in the half portrait style first used for captains of merchant vessels.

by 1802 as an engraver. In 1813, the City Council commissioned a series of portraits of heroes of the War of 1812 and Jarvis was commissioned to paint six of seventeen pictures that decorated New York's City Hall. Jarvis, unlike other portraitists of captains, chose to use the style of eighteenth century English portraiture. His subjects are depicted full length, standing elegantly attired in full dress uniform on the decks of their vessels as the smoke from the raging battle rises in the background. They appear larger than life, calm in the midst of the chaos of battle. Whether Jarvis was familiar with the English portraits of the heroes of the Battle of Trafalgar of a few years earlier is unknown; however, his work shows a great deal of similarity to them. Jarvis' full length naval heroes are the exceptions, however, rather than the norm in American portraiture of sea captains.

The third pattern of captains' portraits varies only slightly. The formal sea captain sits in a neutral background, sometimes with only the vessel behind him but more frequently he is presented by himself, alone, stiff and business-like in his dark tidy attire. He no longer clings to an emblem of his career. He is totally separated from his profession, a lone gentleman looking forthrightly at the viewer, or presented simply in profile. Perhaps these paintings were taken after the master mariner had left the sea to follow a career as a merchant or farmer, or they may have hung in the office of the shipping firm for which he worked.[12]

Regardless of which pattern was chosen, the prosperous sea captain would have chosen to be painted in his finest set of clothing. What he wore at sea may have varied somewhat and been perhaps less formal. Amasa Delano, who spent over twenty years at sea, gives an inkling of what was worn at sea in an account of a passage he undertook in 1799. The voyage to the Pacific

12. This pattern was used by foreign artists depicting sea captains as well and may have been an accepted international style, much as the style for ship portraits employed by port painters such as the Roux family of Marseilles, G. Fedi, Nicolas Camillieri, Joseph Pellegrin, and others. Although working in different ports, these artists all used a standard formula for depicting vessels which was highly accurate and sought by sea captains.

Portraits such as these by John Wesley Jarvis of Isaac Hull, 1815 (left) and William Bainbridge, 1814 (right), which show their subjects in full length, are the exceptions rather than the rule in nineteenth century American portraiture. Photos from the collection of the City of New York, courtesy of the Art Commission of the City of New York.

A later style of portraiture shows the ship captain without the external maritime setting or tools of his profession, as in the portraits of Captain Samuel Benson by George Southward, ca. 1850-62 (left) and Captain William Driver by Charles Osgood, 1833 (right). Photos courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem, Massachusetts.

in a small ship of 200 tons, named the *Perseverance*, lasted three years:

> For myself, my sufferings were greatly increased by the thinness of my dress. Before I left the ship I shifted my thick clothes and put on nankin pantaloons, which were very tight upon me; and my waistcoat and sleeved jacket were of thin white cotton cloth, and likewise very tight.[13]

Delano had changed to this lighter garb to go ashore to one of the small islands of the Pacific.

Edmund Fanning, also sailing in the Pacific in 1798, wore a more unusual brightly-colored jacket at sea. When he encountered a native of Nuku Hiva Island it became an object of fascination:

> The Rev. M. Crook who had noticed that the chief seemed to have a great fancy for the robbin I then had on, mentioned this to me: it was a short roundabout, made of red flannel with tape strings of the same color. This I instantly took off, and gave to the chief, who speedily made himself perfectly at home, after putting it on; he was at once vastly elated, and appeared quite another man.[14]

Richard Cleveland also made a gift of clothing — shirt, jacket, pantaloons, and handkerchief to an Indian of the Charlotte Islands where he stopped en route to China in 1797.[15] Obviously pantaloons, or long pants, were worn with a shirt and jacket of some type while at sea. When going ashore, or visiting with other captains aboard their vessels, the masters may have donned more formal attire, like that seen in the portraits. Captain Cleveland was rather distressed when he was brought before Admiral Hugh C. Christian in his sea clothing:

> We had scarcely dropped our anchor, when we were boarded by a man-of-war's boat; the officer of which,

13. Teller, *Five Sea Captains*, pp. 68-69.

14. Ibid., p. 153.
15. Ibid., p. 265.

In contrast to the dignity and authority with which master mariners were portrayed, the few depictions of sailors show them in more relaxed attitudes, as in *Salts Ashore* (or *After a Long Cruise*) by John Carlin, 1857. Photo courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Maria DeWitt Jesup Fund.

> finding we were from France, immediately hurried me ashore, in my sea garb, to see the Admiral....[16]

Despite his appearance, Cleveland was treated with "great civility."

Besides wearing his formal attire, the captain is always presented with a clean shaven, serious, unsmiling visage, as a distinguished gentleman. Being clean shaven may have been the mark of a gentleman, and Captain Cleveland commented on the trouble an unsightly appearance could cause:

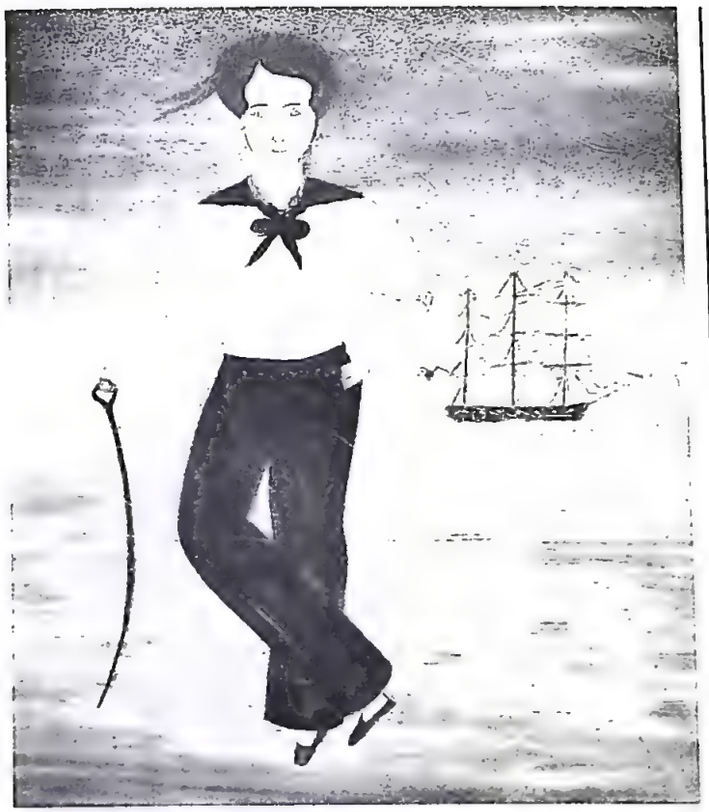
> As we drew near to her after she had anchored, a considerable bustle was perceived on board, as if they were preparing for defense; which, I was afterwards amused to find, arose from our suspicious and uncouth appearance. This, to be sure, was rather unusual, from the circumstance of our beards, at this time, being four or five inches long; as having found the operation of shaving to be difficult, where the motion of the vessel was so great, I had neglected it since leaving China, and my officers and men had followed my example; so that it must be admitted, we did present an appearance so little prepossessing, that it was very excusable for people whom we approached to be on their guard.[17]

This is particularly apparent when images of sea captains are juxtaposed with those of sailors. Sailors are usually shown wearing beards, short jackets and pantaloons, pursuing frivolous activities such as dancing or drinking, often resulting in a brawl. They are depicted in a relaxed attitude and are frequently seen in groups. In contrast, the master mariner had to remain aloof from his crew; maintaining an air of dignity and authority, he had to set an example for those subordinate to him.

Often the master mariner felt the weight of his responsibility. Edmund Fanning of Stonington, Connecticut

16. Ibid., p. 265.

17. Ibid., pp. 68-69.



Like *Salts Ashore*, *Portrait of a Sailor* (artist unknown, ca. 1825) portrays a less formal attitude and dress than is characteristic of masters' portraits. From the collection of the Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, gift of Edgar William and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch.

worked his way up from cabin boy at age fourteen, to seaman, second mate, first mate and captain. Fanning became a notable maritime figure, but his prominence dates from his round-the-world cruise from 1797-99 as commander of the 93 ton *Betsey*. His success on this voyage advanced trade in the Pacific. During the voyage he visited many newly discovered islands, trading with the natives he encountered. However, Fanning was always conscious of his role as agent for the vessel owner, the need to reach a market in a timely fashion, and the importance of conducting himself in a gentlemanly manner:

> ... I did not conceive myself justifiable, or clear from censure, in detaining the ship sacrificing my owners' time and interest, and that of my officers and crew, as well as my own, in gadding or roving about the country; it was not what I had been sent to do, and therefore was not right.[18]

Perhaps the painters chose to capture the unapproachable quality of the master mariner, a man used to being in command. The sea captain is always portrayed by himself,[19] seen as a solitary figure.[20] A conscious decision may have been made to exclude family members from a portrait of the patriarch sea captain painted for them to serve as a remembrance during his long absence. Whatever the reason, portraits of American master mariners consistently depict men conducting their work with courage, self-assurance and dignity.

18. Ibid., p. 158.

19. Some of these portraits were possibly parts of pairs (husband and wife sets). Recently a set of portraits attributed to William M. Prior of the Andrews family was auctioned as a group at Christie's New York. The group included two single portraits of Captain Christopher Andrews, and one of Mrs. Ruth Andrews, whereas two with pairs of the children were also included in the set.

20. Only one exception was found — a portrait of Captain Timothy Ropes and his son, Henry. The father appears quite elderly with a young boy of about eight to ten years old. They are side by side peering out of a window.

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In Search of a Ship

CHARLES DAWSON

FEW personal accounts describing voyages in the transatlantic sailing packets exist, so it was exciting to discover, quite by accident, one that had come from the pen of an English woman passenger, tucked away more or less out of sight at the end of her autobiography. The author gave a fictitious name to the vessel upon which she sailed, and by doing so, led this author to embark upon a search for the identity of the ship that turned out to be as fascinating as the document itself.

The author's name was known from the start: it was Harriet Martineau (1802-1876). She was descended from one of the Huguenot families who had sought refuge in England after 1685, when Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes. She was an extraordinary woman; despite a frail childhood, and being handicapped by deafness, she had by the time she was thirty years old already made quite a name and a little fortune for herself as a writer, although she is probably largely forgotten today. Among many other things, she wrote on the subject of "political economy" some twenty years before Marx, and popularized the concept in a serialized story that encompassed nine volumes over a period of two years.

The voyage she describes in this account is her return from New York to Liverpool in 1836 after a convalescent visit to the United States, where she had also studied social conditions. She appended the short but vivid account, which she entitled *A Month at Sea*, to her *Autobiography* — written in 1855 and published in Boston in 1877 — "to amuse her friends," as she put it. Because Martineau was also a novelist, there are parts of the account which, although attractive to students of human nature, have no direct nautical interest. In addition, she veils the names of the passengers, like that of the ship, in pseudonyms, presumably to avoid hurting their feelings if they should happen to read her account. Some of them, the ladies particularly, do seem to have been rather cantankerous and do not escape the sharpness of her pen. The remainder of the account, however, has sufficient information to give us an insight, with humorous glimpses too, into life at sea in a packet sailing ship of the first half of the nineteenth century.

Martineau's account reveals, for instance, that a first-class passenger had the opportunity of going on board the vessel as she lay alongside the wharf on the East River, New York, in advance of her sailing — in this case some weeks before — in order to select her stateroom. The author had been exhorted by an experienced voyager to secure a berth on the starboard side of the ladies' cabin, to be away from the "scents and sounds of the steward's pantry." The captain himself, whose name Martineau gives as Bursley, wrote the names of his prospective passengers on slips of paper and pinned them to the curtains of the selected berths as a way of confirming their reservations. Upon selecting her berth, Martineau was introduced to the stewardess Margaret, a Scottish girl, "whose countenance and manner was most pleasing."

Martineau gives her ship the pseudonym *Eurydice* and describes it as "not so new, clean or convenient as most of the line," adding that she had chosen it for other reasons. At the top of her list was the high character of the captain, who was a personal friend of some of the others of the party with whom she was travelling. The time of year was also convenient, since she did not relish a crossing in a mid-winter storm.

On 1 August 1836 at 11 a.m., all assembled on board the steamboat that was to take them to their ship. Coming aboard, Martineau found it strange to see water casks and black coal buckets bearing the ship's name all lined up on deck; in the more modern packets, these were usually hidden out of sight. Once all were on board the ship was towed out of the harbor by a steamer and by 4 p.m. they were off Sandy Hook.

Martineau gave up her berth to an invalid lady, and after the exchange found herself after all on the larboard side. (The word "port" had been in use for quite a time by then, but did not become official until later in the century; the new word had been adopted with the aim of avoiding the confusion which could arise from the nearness in sound of larboard and starboard.) She shared her stateroom with an orphan girl who had been allowed by the captain's kindness to work her way over by assisting the stewardess. First-class passengers had food and drink supplied.

Against *mal-de-mer*, or perhaps the thought of it, the ladies "found comfort in ginger lozenges."

The author describes the pilot as a no-nonsense man who gives sharp orders: "No humbugging, haul away, boys," to the crew, and to the captain, "Due east, sir, and keep the white buoy off the weather bow." When the pilot leaves, the mate slips off quietly too, having become poorly, although it is only later that the captain discloses this privately to Martineau, who seems to have won his confidence, "for fear of alarming the other passengers." Because of the mate's disappearance, the second mate was promoted to first and the carpenter to second. No wonder the captain wanted to keep it quiet. Martineau reports that at first the weather was warm and humid, and that she was surprised that there were so many flies on board until she learned that there was a cow as well.

Martineau describes August 4 as a heavenly day, perfect for sailing, the wind fair and balmy, the sea radiant in all directions. The captain gives the order to square the yards, "always a delightful sound." For a diversion, the passengers assemble to look at the addresses on the letters in the mailbag, which were being opened on board for sorting, and found most amusing those written by Irish immigrants to their folks back home. There was turkey for supper, and the "Misses O'Brien" wore yellow spectacles. Martineau sees no sign of the steerage passengers, and wonders if they are hiding out of the wind.

"Mr. Browning" shows Martineau the ship's position on the chart each day. He advises that it is best to eat well; he reckons that seasickness can be caused as much by neglecting food as by any other reason. A cat belonging to one of the passengers catches a mouse, and Martineau reflects that there is thereby a chance of unexpected provisions if the voyage proves to be overlong.

A group wants to play cards, but it is too warm in the stateroom so all troop up on deck. Some remain in the roundhouse (a sort of "summer house" on deck, built at the head of the companionway leading down into the cabin). The captain says that it is unusually sultry. The sea is luminous, and there are explosions of lightning from the cloudy west.

In contrast to the previous day, August 5 is disagreeable, damp, and stifling, with much rain and rolling of the ship. The bag that "Mr. Browning" has is "like a huge stocking." He says that the ship is four points out of course; since it is too far south, there is no chance of seeing either icebergs or cod-boats. They are in a region of calms and light winds, so may be due for a long voyage. The "doctor" asks the captain whether the rain at sea is quite fresh. An interesting question! They see three flying fish. The captain, not averse to odd-jobbing, is mending locks.

On August 11 "Mr. Browning" now predicts fair winds. The weather has been deplorable and everyone hopes that he is right. The captain sends round champagne, accompanied by kind sayings and jokes, to cheer everyone up. Stars at last come out, but then the bad weather returns. "Mr. Browning" praises the ship; he says that few he knows could stand up to such a wind under so much sail. The captain, again helping with the chores, orders the ham bone put into the pea soup and later unpacks a hundred towels.

Martineau reports that on August 12 they passed another ship and hailed her, but got no answer. She dallied in sight for three days. The finest pig is to be killed; the cow has not been milked for three days owing to rough weather. A number of passengers complain and threaten to report the captain. A whale is sighted, and they hear "splice the mainbrace" for the first time. On August 16 casks of turpentine, which is the ship's main cargo, begin to leak and so does the ship, so there is plenty of pumping to be done, and Martineau remarks that the ship's copper bottom should have been repaired at New York.

The next day the idle young men bet at cards, "since the weather is dry and they cannot bet upon the raindrops running down the cabin windows"; one of them loses $16 (£4). Their ship overtakes the English ship *St. Vincent* of Bristol, 33 days from Jamaica. Approaching her, the captain veers to leeward, explaining that it is "worth losing a little time to be civil." "What a press of sail she carried," remarks Martineau, "but her bows were like a breakwater, so square and clumsy." (A check in the registers suggests that she was a ship of 493 tons built at Bristol in 1804, so she would be rather bluff.)

They sailed 220 miles on August 20, which turned out to be their best day's run. On the 22nd they see some Irish earth. On sounding, they find sixty fathoms, and the sand comes up clean on the lead. "Mr. Browning" thinks it is not so clean as American sand. Martineau observes that the incessant damp and salt ruin all fabrics and colors: "It is a piece of extravagance which none but silly people are guilty of, to dress well at sea."

They see a fishing boat on the afternoon of August 23, with dark brown sails and two men on board. They are now only 12 miles from land, off Kinsale Head, near where the American packet ship *Albion* of New York, Captain John Williams, was lost in 1822 with all the crew and passengers but two or three. The ladies discuss the "fees" they should pay to the stewardess; she depends solely on these.

On August 24 they are out of sight of land again, between Cork and Milford Haven. The next day brings a

The *Orpheus*, which Martineau called *Eurydice* in her memoir *A Month at Sea*, was painted by English artist James Fulton Pringle alongside the wharf in the East River in 1837. Photo courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem, Massachusetts.

Northeast gale. They tack all day and at noon see the outline of the Dungarvan Mountains. They speak the ship *Georgia* of Boston, bound for New York. It is now possible with the glass to see houses in Tramore. The crew complain about the beef, which has gone sour because the stewards keep leaving the ice-box door open. The "ringleader" is to be shut up in the ice-house, which is now as warm as any other part of the ship.

Such are the recollections of her passage that Martineau includes in *A Month at Sea*. At times it is difficult to know how much of the account is fact and how much fiction, but it soon becomes fairly certain that it is largely truthful and that behind the pseudonyms were real people. "Mr. Browning," for example, sounds far too knowledgeable about the sea, and did he not have a bag "like a huge stocking"? It seems likely that he was a mariner. Would the account offer other clues to true identities, perhaps even that of the vessel itself?

One helpful pointer comes from information Martineau gives elsewhere regarding her voyage out to the United States in 1834. She sailed on the American packet ship *United States*, which left Liverpool on 4 August 1834 and took 42 days for the crossing. It was easy to confirm that this voyage was a real one and the *United States* was a real ship, for in 1842 she made the sixth fastest crossing of the Atlantic, 14 days, from New York to Liverpool.

So taking 1 August 1836 as the sailing date of *Eurydice*, assuming that the voyage was not fictitious even if the vessel's name was, and knowing that an eastbound vessel would complete the crossing in somewhat less time than one westbound, we were therefore on the lookout for an arrival in Liverpool some time at the end of August or the beginning of September.

There was of course no *Eurydice* to be found in the relevant lists of arrivals in the Liverpool newspapers of the time. However, inveterate puzzle-solvers may have already jumped to the solution that took me a bit longer. It finally occurred to me to consult a book on mythology, which confirmed that Eurydice was the wife of Orpheus. Was this the clue to the name of Martineau's ship?

Sure enough, *Gore's General Advertiser*, one of the half dozen or so Liverpool newspapers of the time, announced on Thursday September 1 the arrival of the ship *Orpheus* "on Friday last." That would make the arrival date August 26, precisely the date which Martineau had evocatively recounted as the last day of their voyage: "Soon after breakfast we saw the floating lights and the castle at the mouth of the Mersey; then New Brighton, with its white houses, trim gardens and plantations; and then some golden harvest fields. The post office boat was soon coming toward us — a sign we were expected." Among the list of nineteen names of passengers given in

the newspaper report (seemingly only first-class passengers were afforded this honor) was that of Miss Harriet Martineau.

The captain was listed as Ira Bursley, and his ship is detailed by Cutler in *Greyhounds of the Sea* as being of 573 tons, 132' by 31', built by C. Bergh & Company, New York, 1832. On the voyage described she belonged to the Old Line of packets.

Martineau had written on the 25th that no telegraphic communication to Liverpool warning of their approach was possible from Holyhead, as they had passed the light in the dark. Since she later writes that they were expected, we can deduce that when it became light on the morning of the 26th, the ship's signal could be read by one of the nine semaphore signal stations between Holyhead and Liverpool, and then duly passed on to confirm her approach. So rapid was the interchange of signals between the telegraph stations along the Welsh coast that it was claimed that a message could be conveyed to Liverpool from Holyhead in fifty-three seconds.

The passenger list also names, among others, Miss Ira Bursley, the captain's sister, of New York; "Miss Tuckerman of Boston," very likely the daughter of the Congregational pastor and philanthropist Joseph Tuckerman (1778-1840) of Chelsea; and "Mr. Ward, merchant, of Boston," of the Ward Line of sailing packets to Havana and the partnership of Montgomery, Ward and Company. There were two artists on board: John Houston Mifflin of Philadelphia was a portrait painter and writer of verse, and twenty-three year-old portrait painter James DeVeaux, described by Martineau as "the ailing young artist." The man she calls "Professor Ely" was John Farrar (1779 - 1853), a professor of mathematics at Harvard University, who wrote learned treatises on a wide range of scientific subjects.

"Mr. Browning," the man with the big kit-bag who was so knowledgeable about the sea, turned out to be none other than Acting Lieutenant Charles Wilkes (1798 - 1877) of the U. S. Navy, who was related to the English politician of the same name. Lieutenant Wilkes was appointed to be in command of the U. S. Exploring Expedition of 1838-42, the first major one of its kind undertaken by the United States and its first to circumnavigate the globe. His voyage in *Orpheus* was made to arrange for the purchase in Europe of the various scientific instruments that would be required for this great endeavor. Wilkes later became notorious in England in November 1861, at the beginning of the American Civil War, over what became known in England as the *Trent* Affair. By that time he had attained the rank of captain and was in command of the U. S. sloop-of-war *San Jacinto*.

Wilkes had rightly appreciated the sailing qualities of *Orpheus*. On this voyage to Liverpool, she had recorded eight fine day's runs, "overtaking everything," up to 20 August, when she logged her best day's run, 220 miles. She seemed capable of maintaining a steady twelve knots in heavy weather.

Several years after the voyage described by Harriet Martineau, *Orpheus* made the thirteenth fastest officially confirmed crossing from New York to Liverpool, with Captain David G. Bailey in command: sixteen days from 19 November to 5 December 1838. On that voyage she reached Cork in twelve and one-half days, the fastest authenticated time on record for that transatlantic leg.

Charles Dawson is a retired engineer, born in Liverpool, England in 1921. His interest in maritime history began when he inherited a spyglass which had been presented to his Scottish great grandfather, Captain William Kennedy of the Liverpool ship Wallace *by his crew, and he has, in his own words, "been in search of many ships since."*

The Real *Peterhoff*

PETER BARTON

In 1925, Francis B. C. Bradlee's book *Blockade Running During the Civil War* featured an illustration of the steamer *Peterhoff*. Bradlee described the vessel as "Formerly the Emperor of Russia's yacht built in 1850." More than thirty years later, *The American Neptune* offered the same photograph (Pictorial Supplement III - *Blockade Runners*, July, 1961) and as recently as 1989, Tony Gibbons' *Warships and Naval Battles of the American Civil War* contains a drawing based on the same illustration. The photograph in question is available from

the Naval Historical Center.

The illustration is of a smart clipper-style paddle steamer, and yet when Lloyd's Register of Shipping first entered her in its 1862 Register Supplement she was given the letters "Scw" after her name to show that she was a *screw* propelled vessel. How has this apparent discrepancy been allowed to persist to this day? Puzzled, I set out to discover the truth.

Consulting local newspapers at the time of her launch from T. R. Oswald's shipyard at Sunderland (County Durham), I found that the *Sunderland Times* of 27 July 1861 reported the launch of the iron screw steamer *Peterhoff* for Messrs Z. C. Pearson, Coleman & Company of Hull (Yorkshire). Other contemporary reports agree with this description.

Turning to the Hull Custom House ship registers we find that the *Peterhoff* was first registered in June 1862 (No. 26 of 1862) and was described as an iron screw steamer. In December 1862 she was sold to Joseph Spence, shipbuilder. He was a partner in the shipbuilding firm of Pile, Spence & Company of West Hartlepool (County Durham) but had offices in London. The vessel was registered at the London Custom House (No. 395 of 1862) and again appears as an iron screw steamer. The *Peterhoff* was in the ownership of Joseph Spence when she was captured off St. Thomas by the USS *Vanderbilt* on 25 February 1863.

The delay of nearly a year between her launch and first registration is strange and made me wonder whether she had, in fact, been in Russian ownership for a short period. Further perusal of contemporary newspapers revealed that only a month after the launch of the *Peterhoff* T. R. Oswald, her builder, was declared bankrupt. If the steamer had not been delivered she would have been regarded as part of the firm's assets and only released on the authority of the courts. This complication could have prevented Zachariah Pearson from having the vessel registered in the name of his firm until June 1862, but was this the case?

In the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich there is a collection of old survey reports compiled by Lloyd's surveyors prior to a vessel's receiving Lloyd's seal of approval and appearing in their registers marked with a Maltese Cross signifying "Built under special survey." Fortunately, without realizing how valuable his comment would prove, the surveyor assigned to the *Peterhoff* has settled the question of where the vessel was between July 1861 and June 1862, for he felt it necessary to write:

> This vessel was launched in an unfinished state in July and since then has been laying in the North Dock afloat. In the month of April was taken up to Pallion yard and afterwards to Mr. Laing's dry dock. The whole of the ceiling has been taken up as part of it was laid before the Bulkhead had been properly caulked, the rivetting and caulking examined and now made good....

In the Customs House ship registers the *Peterhoff* is consistently described as "brig rigged" and this agrees with

The vessel incorrectly identified as the *Peterhoff*, courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem, Massachusetts.

the surveyor's report. Only in the 1862 Lloyd's Register supplement is her rig different. There she is shown as ship rigged, but mistakes in the provisional information appearing in Lloyd's supplements were not unusual. The rig of the paddle steamer illustration is that of a three masted schooner.

The story of the capture of the *Peterhoff*, her subsequent conversion to a Federal gunboat and final sinking by collision are well documented, and the fact that the owners eventually received an apology and compensation for the wrongful arrest of the vessel means that, legally perhaps, she should be described as an *alleged* blockade runner.

Her career, from launch to watery grave, reveals her to have been an ordinary iron screw steamer, typical of so many turned out from the nineteenth century shipyards of north-east England. She was never the Russian Emperor's yacht and though this may remove a little of the glamour from her story, I think the truth is just as interesting.

Peter Barton is a retired engineer who lived and worked in Middlesbrough, North Yorkshire for many years. He has devoted much of his spare time over the past forty years to the maritime history of north-east England and has published in The Mariner's Mirror, Maritime History, Sea Breezes, *and other periodicals.*

The Brig *Laurel* and the American Zanzibar Trade

ROBERT R. PERRON

The recent discovery of an early ninteenth century manuscript sheds new light on the beginnings of American trade with the African coastal island of Zanzibar. Since 1954, the opening of trade with the island has been traced to the arrival there of the brig *Laurel* in July of 1825. Prior to 1954, however, other vessels such as the brig *Ann* and the schooner *Spy* were listed in various accounts as the first American vessels to land at Zanzibar.[1] The recently discovered manuscript, found in the collection of the Beverly Historical Society of Beverly, Massachusetts, offers additional proof that the vessel in question was indeed the brig *Laurel*.

The manuscript is entitled "Directions for, and Remarks on The Coast of Sumatra, & Madagascar, Red Sea, Persian Gulph, East Coast of Africa, Glorius, Aldebra, Soloman, Zanzibar, Mombass, and other Islands etc. - etc.,"[2] (hereafter "Directions"). It is written in ink on thirteen large paper sheets which were stacked together, then folded and stitched along the center fold to form a forty-two page booklet.

Several aspects of the manuscript made it very difficult to interpret, however. First, it was written by two different hands. The first ten pages were written by one author and the remaining thirty-one pages by another. Second, it appears at times to be a passenger's journal of a sea voyage through the Indian Ocean to Sumatra and at other times a listing of technical piloting and navigational information. Third, the first part of the narrative describes

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1. Charles S. Osgood and H. M. Batchelder, *Historical Sketch of Salem*, (Salem, 1879), p. 164. Osgood reported that "The brig *Laurel* ... arrived at Zanzibar the 20th of July, 1825." R. D. Paine, however, in *Ships and Sailors of Old Salem* (Boston: Lauriat Co., 1924), p. 443, listed the brig *Ann* as the first American ship in Zanzibar in 1826, while George Putnam, *Salem Vessels and their Voyages* (Salem, MA: Essex Institute, 1930), vol. 4, pp. 29, 30-32, attributes the first arrival to the schooner *Spy* in 1827, as do Frances D. Robotti in *Chronicles of Old Salem* (New York: Bonanza, 1948), n.p., and Cyrus T. Brady, Jr., in *Commerce and Conquest in East Africa* (Salem, MA: Essex Institute, 1950), p. 89. Then Philip E. Northway returned to Osgood's date in "Salem and the Zanzibar - East Coast Trade, 1825 - 1845," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 90 (April 1954): 124, and was followed by Norman R. Bennett in "Americans in Zanzibar: 1825 - 1845," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 95, p. 124; Sir John Gray in *History of Zanzibar from the Middle Ages to 1856* (Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 194; Herman F. Eilts in "Ahmad Bin Na'Aman's Mission to the United States in 1840....", *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 98 (1962): 225; and Edward H. Berman, "Salem and Zanzibar: 1825 - 1850," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 105 (1969): 342.

2. Manuscript No. 16977, Lovett Collection, Beverly Historical Society, Beverly, MA.

positions in the eastern Indian Ocean around Sumatra, then it shifts geographically to the western Indian Ocean and records information about positions on the east coast of Africa, including Zanzibar. Fourth, the dates given in the manuscript are few and range from February of 1819 to October of 1825, and some entries are out of sequence chronologically. Finally, the narrative includes information apparently drawn from other, later sources, as well as the writers' personal observations.

In spite of the difficulties of interpretation, though, the "Directions" ultimately points to the *Laurel* as the vessel that first voyaged under the American flag to Zanzibar. One clue is the identities of the authors. The first ten pages, which contain sailing directions for a master bound on a pepper voyage along the west coast of Sumatra, were signed by "Josiah Lovett 2nd," who was born on November 29, 1791 and by the age of twenty-one was master of a deep sea ship.[3] On the next page, the handwriting changes to that of the second writer, and on page fifteen he signs himself "Josiah Lovett Jr." The remaining pages come from the same hand. This Lovett was born on March 25, 1805 and died in New Orleans in July of 1854.[4] The two Lovetts are believed to be related but not of the same immediate family.

The second author of the "Directions" writes from "the brig *Rajah* of Beverly," 249 tons, which was built in Newbury and registed on August 11, 1818.[5] But a check of the impost records and logs for *Rajah* show that she was engaged solely in the Sumatra pepper trade between 1818 and 1825 (which explains the narrative's early emphasis on the eastern Indian Ocean) and that she made no stops at Zanzibar.[6] The suggestion is that when the narrative makes a geographical shift west to the region that includes Zanzibar, it was written on another voyage and from another vessel. But which vessel?

A review of the *Ship Registers for the Port of Salem and Beverly* reveals that, in addition to *Rajah*, Josiah Lovett Jr. also co-owned the brigs *Fawn* and *Laurel*. The latter vessel was registered on September 29, 1823 to "Ezra Foster and Josiah Lovett, Beverly, owners; Ezra Foster, master," and again on January 4, 1825 to "Robert Brookhouse, Josiah Lovett, Beverly, owners; James Briant, Master.[7] Briant became master of *Laurel* following the death of Foster in Havana in March of 1824.

The geographical shift from the eastern to western Indian Ocean occurs on page nineteen of the "Directions." At that point, Lovett gives a list of geographical positions for thirty-one places along the east coast of Africa, including Zanzibar, entitled "Remarks on the Southern and Western Coast of Madagascar." He records that the latitudes and longitudes were "obtained from Capt. Owin [sic] R.N., commander of his B. M. [British Majesty's] survey ship LEVEN on this coast." This vessel, along with the HMS *Barracouta*, surveyed the western Indian Ocean in 1823 and 1824.[8] How Lovett could have obtained the results of Owen's survey before the *Laurel*'s departure in January of 1825 constituted another mystery. Most likely, this information was obtained by Lovett several years later.

On July 1, 1825, Lovett reports sighting the Glorius Islands (Îles Glorieuses), off the northern coast of Madagascar. His entry for the next day gives a valuable clue as to the identity of the vessel from which he writes. On July 2 he notes that "Capt. Briant left with the boat for shore." If Lovett wrote in July of 1825 from a vessel of which James Briant was captain, it had to have been the *Laurel*. Thus, the mention of Briant as master confirms the vessel's identity.

Further proof comes in an entry entitled "Muscat," which states that "We were at this place in the *Laurel* from the 1st to the 10th of October." Since the manuscript had established that Lovett and Briant were aboard *Laurel* at the Glorius Islands in early July, the next logical step was to explore whether or not *Laurel*, on the same voyage, could have stopped at Zanzibar in late July and at Muscat in early October. Using information in the manuscript, "Ship News" entries in the *Salem Gazette* and *Essex Register* from October 1823 to mid-June of 1826, distances between ports, and knowledge of winds and currents in the area, it is possible to reconstruct an itinerary for *Laurel*'s voyage starting on the July 1 date on which she was at the Glorius Islands. The proposed itinerary is based on the most probable courses and adjusted for fair or adverse winds or currents. During the summer months, the winds off the east coast of Africa

3. William R. Cutter, *Genealogical Memoirs of Boston and Eastern Massachusetts* (New York, 1908), p. 1243.

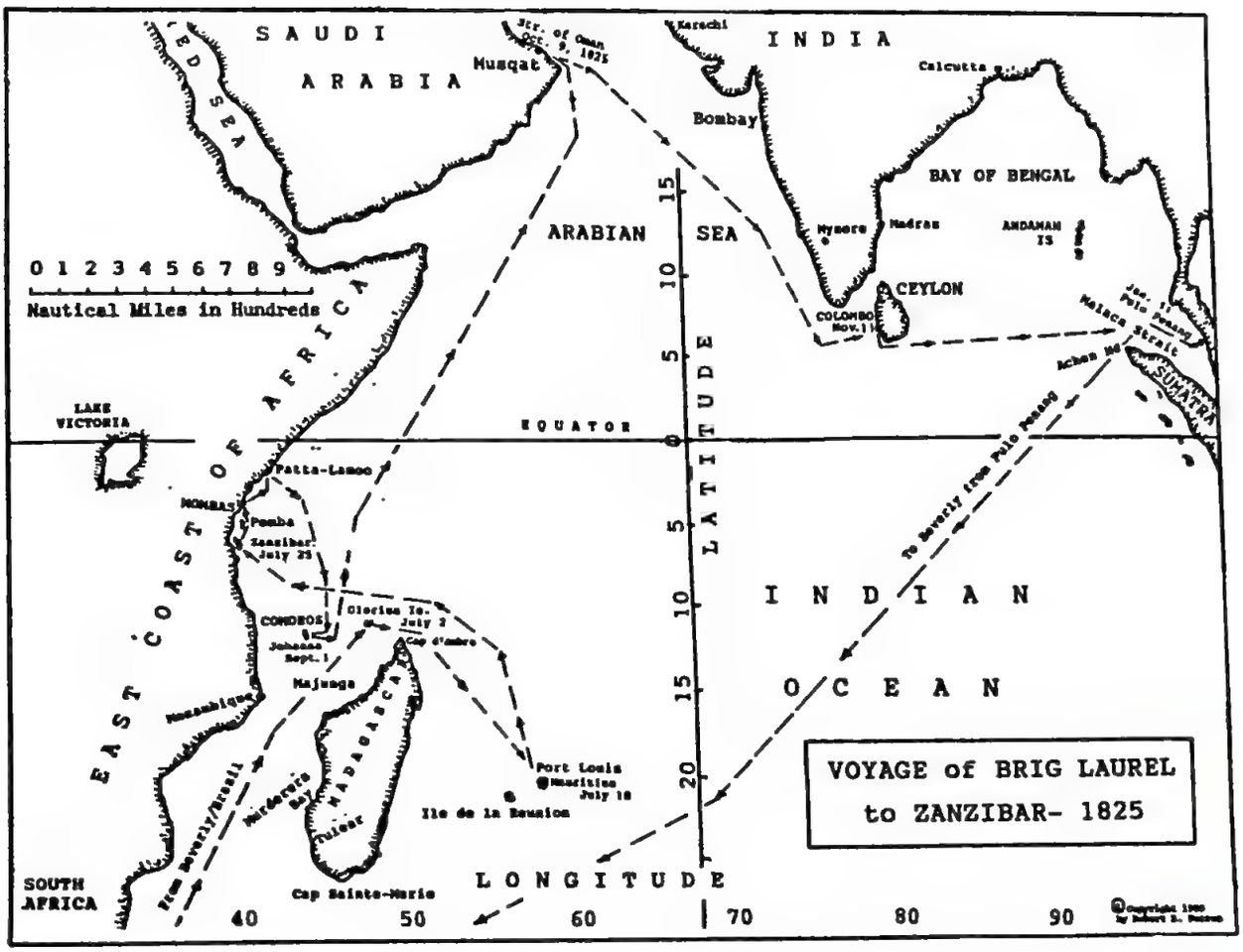
4. *Vital Records at the City of Beverly.*

5. Stephen W. Phillips, *Ships Registers of the District of Salem and Beverly*, p. 136; Insurance policies, items 22956 and 24255 at the Beverly Historical Society, issued to the owners of the brig *Rajah*, Josiah Lovett Jr., master.

6. Impost Books No. 7 and 8, National Archives, Waltham, Massachusetts, and Log L311 of the *Rajah* at the Beverly Historical Society. The voyage in question began on August 31, 1823 to Gibraltar, then Genoa, Sumatra, Gibraltar, India, and return April 26, 1825.

7. *Ships Registers*, p. 136.

8. Admiralty Charts of Madagascar, C1466 and C2738, Peabody Museum of Salem, Massachusetts.



A proposed itinerary for the brig *Laurel*'s voyage shows a landfall in Zanzibar in July of 1825 to be quite plausible.

are southwest monsoons, ideal for northerly courses but contrary for southerly routes. While of necessity using some assumptions, such as the number of nautical miles per day under average sailing conditions, average number of days in port, etc., the itinerary shows that a chronology for the vessel which includes stops in Zanzibar and Muscat at the proposed times is quite plausible.

Thus, this manuscript points to the *Laurel* in several ways. Josiah Lovett, who was co-owner of *Laurel*, wrote from a vessel of which "Capt. Briant" was master and which was in Muscat roughly six weeks after the earliest commentor places *Laurel* at Zanzibar. In spite of the difficulties of interpreting the document, the newly discovered narrative supports the belief that American trade with Zanzibar was inaugurated by *Laurel* in late July of 1825. This voyage seems to have been *Laurel*'s only one to the island. Other vessels followed, but the trade, while steady and somewhat profitable, was never large[9] and ceased entirely by 1893.

9. Putnam, *Salem Vessels*, vol. 2, pp. 62-117.

Robert R. Perron was a professional engineering physicist from 1938 until 1980, when he retired from the consulting firm of Arthur D. Little, Inc. He was president of the Beverly Historical Society between 1978 and 1982 and is now maritime curator. He is currently president of Washington's Naval Base, Inc. of Beverly, Massachusetts.

News and Query

Hill Reference Library Announces Grants

The James Jerome Hill Reference Library of St. Paul, Minnesota will award a number of grants of up to $2,000 to support research in the James J. Hill and Louis W. Hill papers. The deadline for applications is October 1, 1991, and the awards will be announced in early 1992. For more information, contact W. Thomas White, Curator, James Jerome Hill Reference Library, 80 West Fourth Street, St. Paul, MN 55102.

Exhibition Honors Henry VIII

Currently on display at the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich, London, is "Henry VIII at Greenwich," an exhibition of over 250 Tudor treasures organized to celebrate the quincentenary of the monarch's birth. Henry VIII laid the foundations of Britain's maritime power and for many years governed the country from his palace at Greenwich. The exhibit is open through September 1, 1991.

NMM has also launched a roughly $5 million project to build a 70-foot replica of Charles II's seventeenth century yacht on the museum grounds.

Great Lakes Vessel Opens as Museum

The Great Lakes Historical Society opened a new museum to the public on May 23, 1991, in Cleveland, Ohio. She is the restored Steamer *William G. Mather*, a 618-foot ore carrier and former flagship of the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company fleet, now a ship museum at North Coast Harbor, Cleveland's lakefront park. Built in 1925 as a "state-of-the-art" Great Lakes bulk carrier, the vessel transported iron ore and coal to midwestern steel mills for 55 years before being laid up in 1980. She was donated to the GLHS in 1987, and the Society has spent the past three years renovating the vessel. The Society also operates a maritime museum in Vermilion, Ohio, and the USS *Cod*, a World War II submarine, also open to the public on Cleveland's lakefront.

Tenth Naval History Symposium Set

The U. S. Naval Academy will hold its tenth Naval History Symposium on September 11-13, 1991, in Annapolis. Requests for information should be directed to Professor Jack Sweetman, History Department, U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD 21402-5044.

Joint ICMH-AAMH Conference Announced

The International Commission of Maritime History and the Australian Association for Maritime History have announced a joint conference on "New Directions in Maritime History," to be held on December 6-10, 1993, in Perth/Fremantle, and have issued an initial call for papers. Inquiries and requests to be placed on the mailing list for conference information should be mailed to "New Directions in Maritime History," C/-Department of History, University of Western Australia, Nedlands, WA 6009, Australia.

Liverpool Conference Planned for 1992

The International Maritime Economic History Association (IMEHA) will sponsor the First International Congress of Maritime History from August 15 through 19, 1992, in Liverpool, England. The University of Liverpool and the Merseyside Maritime Museum will co-host the conference. For information, write to Professor Lewis R. Fischer at the Maritime Studies Research Unit, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada A1C 5S7.

Boudin's Marine Scenes Exhibited

Works by the French master marine artist Eugene Boudin are on view at the Peabody Museum of Salem through September 1, 1991. "Boudin: Impressionist Marine Paintings" highlights the artist's scenes of maritime

activity on the Normandy coast in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Along with twenty of Boudin's works are marine paintings by Boudin's student Claude Monet and his contemporaries Eugene Isabey and Johann Barthold Jongkind.

Summer Course in Underwater Archaeology Planned

The Amsterdam Summer University is offering a course entitled "Emerging Maritime Cultural Heritage" from August 12 to 16, 1991. The course will focus on the basics and highlights of underwater archaeology. It is intended for policy-makers or public authorities that deal with the preservation of cultural heritage, and all interested non-professionals. For further information, contact Amsterdam Summer University, P. O. Box 53066, 1007 RB Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

East Carolina Receives Eller Library

The Joyner Library at East Carolina University has received the personal naval library of Rear Admiral Ernest M. Eller, USN (Ret.). The collection of over 2,000 titles addresses such varied topics as naval ordnance, medicine at sea, navies of the American Revolution, and includes an extensive list of World War II technical titles. The donation also contains several volumes of considerable rarity, including an 1821 biography of Oliver Hazard Perry, a rare 1823 edition of *Jane's Naval History*, and an 1842 volume entitled *Book of the Navy* by John Frost.

Vermont Exhibit On Display at Manitowoc

"Anglers All: 500 Years of Fly Fishing" has opened at the Manitowoc Maritime Museum in Manitowoc, Wisconsin. The traveling exhibit from the American Museum of Fly Fishing in Manchester, Vermont, contains numerous artifacts related to fly fishing, from antique rods and reels to a Victorian fly-tying bench to personal items belonging to such famous fly fishermen as Bing Crosby, President Herbert Hoover, and Zane Grey. The exhibit remains at Manitowoc through November, 1991.

New Newsletter Aims at Sport Divers

A new newsletter called *Ships and Shipwrecks* fosters responsible sport diving with articles on the whereabouts of wrecks, wreck diving regulations in various states, and how to work with archaeologists. The six-time yearly publication costs $36.00. For information, write to *Ships and Shipwrecks*, P. O. Box 589, Riderwood, MD 21139.

Readers are encouraged to send museum news and announcements of upcoming events and meetings to the Neptune's *News Editor Daniel Finamore, Associate Curator of Maritime History, The Peabody Museum of Salem, East India Square, Salem, MA 01970.*

Query

Neptune reader Terence Edgar Moody, who describes himself as an amateur with an interest in mid-nineteenth century American wooden shipbuilding and naval architecture, sends this appeal to other readers:

"I have been able to obtain copies of most of the technical books which were written in that era, including the very rare work of G. W. Rogers, which was published in 1845. In view of the fact that, without exception, all these books contain errors in geometrical methods of drafting, I find it surprising that, to my knowledge, no present day writer has attempted to bring these errors to light, or to make a comprehensive evaluation of the books as a whole.

It would seem that, whilst new books and writings which treat of the exploits and records of the famous clipper ships appear with regularity, very little indeed of a serious and technical value regarding design and construction methods is available.... A truly definitive treatment is yet to be written.

I would be grateful if you could put me in touch with any person with the same interests as myself, or any organization which may be preparing a thesis on the subject."

Interested readers may wish to contact Mr. Moody at 2, St. Martins Place, South Cliff, Scarborough, North Yorkshire, YO11 2QH, England.

Book Reviews

ROBERT D. BALLARD, *The Discovery of the* Bismarck (New York: Warner Books, 1990). 9" x 11½", cloth, 232 pages, 223 illustrations in black and white and color, appendix, index, introduction by Ludovic Kennedy. $35.00.

Dwight David Eisenhower once warned that any war surprises. The role of the German battleship *Bismarck* in World War II, and the parts her Royal Navy opponents played, teemed with surprises, all of them fateful and unlikely. *Bismarck*'s swift, apocalyptic destruction of the *Hood* after scarcely ten minutes of engagement consternated the British in ways that persist even yet. The Royal Navy's finding of *Bismarck*, the sudden total loss of contact, and the luck of *Bismarck*'s later being re-spotted by a lone Catalina plane all justify Eisenhower's observation. And consider the unlikelihood of *Bismarck*'s being fatally disabled by a torpedo to her rudder, and that from a carrier-launched World War I vintage biplane held together with fabric and guy wires.

Lost to human view since her sinking off Brest, France in 1941, *Bismarck* has tossed off more surprises since her 1989 discovery. She rests upright and relatively intact three miles down, though her four gravity-mounted 15-inch gun turrets are absent. Photography of the wreck strongly suggests that her crew scuttled her, *Graf-Spee* style, though the Royal Navy barrage would ultimately have sunk her. Also surprisingly, even in her final plunge, *Bismarck* remained an instrument of destruction; she struck bottom with such force that she deranged the geology of the seabed for over a mile.

Discovery of the Bismarck is the second book of its type from Robert D. Ballard since his *Discovery of the* Titanic (1987). For all purposes these expeditions could eventually become a series; Ballard casually hints at a contemplated expedition to the Japanese battleship *Yamato*. The basic organization here is chapters of straight historical narrative interrupted with parallel chapters about significant points in the expedition to find the wreck; disputed positions, geological analysis, bottom scans, setbacks (in this book they came across at first what they thought to be *Bismarck*'s rudder but was only the remains of a nineteenth-century sailing ship); finally discovery, examination, and a re-casting of history based on the new findings. All of this is supplemented by generous, even luxuriant graphics. Broadly speaking, it works, especially for the general reader.

Discovery of the Bismarck, though, draws on a lower level of technology than did *Discovery of the* Titanic. The *Bismarck* expedition lacked the advantages of the USN's deep submersible ALVIN and its junior partner JASON. The result here is that there is no direct human observation of the wreck or any of the detailed, up-close surveys that made the *Titanic* book so memorable. In fact, owing to a technical failure, this book offers no color photographs of *Bismarck*'s current appearance. Yet the book gets effectively around those drawbacks with its hundreds of photographs, plates, and pullouts. It also, wisely, draws again on the talents of illustrator Ken Marschal whose depictions of *Titanic* hauntingly supplemented the 1987 book.

Again, this is no book for the serious reader of naval history. Though the Appendix scrupulously documents its sources and collaborators, the narrations of *Bismarck*'s history and battle saga are competently though unmemorably handled. The chapters by Ballard (eight out of the book's total twelve) in the first person come off discomposingly. To put it directly, they're replete with forced analogies, a strained quasi-portentiousness; they can also be melodramatic and confessional. The reader will also get a lot of Robert D. Ballard in the graphics; he appears in nearly thirty of them, many captioned in the first person. He's even twice on the dust jacket. The effect of this self-promotion detracts from this book's many distinctions, at least to some readers who might parallel it to the high school yearbook few in the graduating class wanted to pick up because the president of the class seemed to be on every other page.

JOHN CHRISTIE

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Terre Haute, Indiana

JOHN BOCKSTOCE, ED., *The Journal of Rochfort Maguire, 1852-54: Two Years at Point Barrow, Alaska, Aboard HMS* Plover *in Search for John Franklin.* 2 vols. (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1988). £30 the set, but free to members of the Hakluyt Society, c/o Map Library, British Library, London, WC1B 3DG.

In 1845 Sir John Franklin left England to search for a northwest passage, never to return. Three years later H.M.S. *Plover*, a Bombay-built brig of shallow draft and stout build, was sent under command of T.E.L. Moore as tender to H.M.S. *Herald*, Captain Henry Kellett, to the western Arctic via Cape Horn to find the whereabouts of Franklin, still thought to be roaming the northern wilds of Arctic Canada — or so some hoped. The *Plover* was in and near Point Barrow, Alaska, for many years, until 1854, and in 1852 Rochfort Maguire, who had previously never had a command, was ordered from England to replace Commander Moore. Maguire's journal begins with the startling entry dated 3 January 1852 in which he reports his interview before the First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir Francis Baring. Maguire carelessly suggested to Baring that during the course of the voyage he might spend some time exploring eastward from Herald and Wrangell Islands, reported by Kellett in 1849. Baring erupted and answered all by replying "That's discovery, that's discovery!" The nuances of this statement go undetected by editor Bockstoce, but have telling significance: the *Plover* was sent merely in a support role, with stores and supplies for Franklin and other ships searching for the famous mariner. Perhaps more significantly, Baring was heartily tired by this time of discovery for discovery's sake: after all, consider the expenditure in time and taxpayers' money to find Sir John in the icy shores and frozen barrens of North America.

Maguire does not seem to have been put off by Sir Francis Baring's stricture, and there was opportunity enough for this inquisitive and literate naval officer to report in his journal on the local Eskimo and Inuit, on Indians of the Yukon area, and on the wildlife and his own experiences in small boat expeditions sent from the *Plover*. Unlike many other naval officers in search of Franklin, Maguire did not publish a book of his voyages and travels, and previously his only known publications appeared in the Arctic Blue Book Series of the British Parliamentary Papers. For that reason alone this publication is very welcome. Students of the history of maritime enterprise in the North Pacific Ocean, especially in the Bering Sea, will find the Introduction to be a useful survey of the history of the area, though to this reader's thinking it tends toward the matter-of-fact and lacks an understanding of the context of Admiralty decision-making, and the truth of the matter may be that Bockstoce has not worked through the Admiralty papers in the Public Record Office which would have given him added dimension, and given him a clue as to the rationale for Sir Francis Baring's reply to Maguire's innocent and well-intentioned query. The work is well footnoted, revealing the most recent sources. Details concerning the Anglo-French expedition against Petropavlovsk in Kamchatka and the state of Anglo-Russian relations in Alaska at this time will be found in the relevant chapter of my book *The Royal Navy and the Northwest Coast* (University of British Columbia Press, 1971), and Esquimalt is spelled that way. The maps for this set are accurate if uninspired from an artistic point of view. The illustrations are adequate as to clarity, though the frontispiece, Maguire's portrait by Stephen Pearce, resembles a poor photocopy unworthy of Maguire or of the Hakluyt Society. Finally it may be observed that this book brings the Hakluyt Society into the second half of the nineteenth century as far as its publications program is concerned. That Society was founded in 1846, six years before Maguire took up his command. It is a matter for congratulations that the Society is publishing works of the more immediate past, of which this work is an exemplary first.

BARRY M. GOUGH

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GEORGIETTA BONFIGLIO DOSIO, ed., *Ragioni antique spettanti all'arte del mare et fabriche de vasselli: manoscritto nautico del sec. xv.* (Fonti per la storia di Venezia, sez. V - Fondi vari). (Venice: Comitato per la pubblicazione delle fonti relative alla storia di Venezia, 1987). Paper, xciv + 263 pages, 15 diagrams, 1 folded diagram, 11 black and white illustrations, 11 color illustrations. With studies by Pieter van der Merwe, Alvise Chiggiato, and David Proctor.

For those interested in the maritime history of the Age of Discovery, this edition of a fifteenth century Venetian marine miscellany and its attendant introductory essays is one of the most valuable works to have appeared in recent years. The manuscript is described in a *Guide to the Manuscripts in the National Maritime Museum* as containing "entries in many hands on navigational calculations, astronomy, astrology, sailing directions for

the Mediterranean and the building and fitting of galleys" (ix). Thus it includes information on many aspects of maritime culture in the fifteenth century, though it is, perhaps, the information regarding galley design that is most enlightening to the modern scholar. Though this is a Venetian document, published in a Venetian series, its publication is the result of international cooperation: the manuscript is housed in the Library of the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich, and the introductory studies are written in both Italian and English, according to their authorship.

That this manuscript is a miscellany, assembled over time by different persons, is clear. Bonfiglio Dosio, in her descriptive preface, distinguishes eight different hands at work in the manuscript, though only three of them, working in the last decades of the fifteenth century, contributed substantially to the content of the manual. This is not, then, a developed, coherent work. It is, rather, a notebook of practical information gathered from different sources. The editor suggests that the writer identified as "B" may have had scribes "C" and "E" copy existing material on maritime matters which "B" then updated and completed to produce "his manual," a work for personal reference (xxix). A scholarly and complete "Provenance and Technical Description of the Manuscript" by van der Merwe gives the reader a very good idea of the history of the work and of its present condition and organization, including some problems such as an early rebinding that apparently resulted in its being reassembled with the pages in a different order than in its original form. The two studies that will probably be of most interest to maritime historians are those by Alvise Chiggiato on naval architecture, and by David Proctor on "Astronomy, Astrology, and the Character of Shipbuilders."

Chiggiato's study, "Le 'Ragioni Antique' dell'architettura navale" represents an enormous step forward in our understanding of the design process and principles by which the lines of the hulls of galleys were determined in the late fifteenth century. He argues persuasively that the previously unused material contained in the *Ragioni antique* provides a key to understanding the material in the long-known *Fabrica di galere* and other documents relating to shipbuilding. Chiggiato notes that the *Ragioni antique*, in describing vessels that actually existed, reports design elements that were so commonly understood in the fifteenth century that they were not recorded in most works on the subject. They were recorded here because actual vessels were more or less imperfect; they varied from the theoretical ideal that would be produced by using the usual geometric principles. This information provided the clues that allowed Chiggiato to recover those principles of geometric proportion which allowed elaboration from a few basic measurements to produce a complete set of curves for a hull with "an accuracy greater than that obtainable in a plan on a 1:20 scale" (lix). He explains in detail the historical evidence from sources outside the *Ragioni antique* as well as the way in which the system worked. In the process he produces a complete set of curves for a light galley. This is the most detailed and convincing explication of the design process for Renaissance galleys that I have yet seen.

The brief note by Proctor on "Astrology, Astronomy, and the Character of Shipbuilders" provides a scientific-cultural context for those parts of the work which might, to a modern reader, seem out of place in a book intended for the practical use of someone with maritime interests. Of course, the necessity to have some astronomical knowledge for navigation is obvious. Less obvious may be the practical utility of the extensive tables for the calculation of Easter and other church holidays. Proctor shows how these things, as well as astrology, charms, and special prayers, were a part of the fabric of Renaissance society, and therefore, of the lives of shipbuilders as well.

The text itself is carefully edited in the original fifteenth century Venetian. The illustrations, reproduced from the manuscript, often in color, help to clarify many elements that could not be understood from the text alone. In addition to the material on shipbuilding, astronomical, and astrological lore described above, there is material copied from several portolans which illustrate the areas important to Venetian navigation. Taken as a whole, this valuable document provides much information regarding the kinds of knowledge that a skilled seaman had to possess, and it is remarkably detailed and wide-ranging. The *Ragioni antique* is an exceedingly valuable addition to our understanding of late medieval and Renaissance maritime culture.

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J.S. BROMLEY, *Corsairs and Navies 1660-1760* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1987), xxv + 517 pages.

This volume is a series of reprints — some ten in number — from the over forty articles written by the British maritime historian John Bromley. The author made the initial selection and chose those articles which were

closely related and which would make a coherent whole when published together. Bromley had wide knowledge of the archives in many European countries, and he used his researches with great skill and marshalled his evidence in a masterly fashion. It is difficult to select any one of the pieces as being the most instructive or the most illuminating. All are written with care for the niceties of the scholar but with style and élan at the same time.

Bromley was fortunate in that his knowledge was encyclopedic and that he could use it so effectively. His writing, be it in English or French, has a panache and a freshness that puts down any criticism that the scholar cannot write for the general reader. This reviewer particularly enjoyed "The Jacobite Privateers in the Nine Years War" and "Dugay Trouin: The Financial Background," but the choices are purely personal and other readers might well make other selections. If there is any cavil to this book, it is a minor one, namely, it is unfortunate that the publisher decided to use some sort of offset with differing forms of print. One supposes that this decision was the consequence of cost accounting, but it does somewhat spoil the appearance of this otherwise excellent book. That criticism aside, the writings of John Bromley have deserved this republication. Journal articles often tend to be forgotten or unavailable; this present collection will serve to remind us of the fine scholarship of Bromley and cause us to turn to other items not included for further enlightenment.

S. W. JACKMAN

University of Victoria

JAMES TERTIUS DEKAY, *The Battle of Stonington* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1990). 216 pages, maps, illustrations, appendix, bibliography, index. $24.95.

This is the stuff of which historical novels are made: a largely unknown incident in a major war replete with famous names, spies, and unusual engines of war. I found myself wondering at what point Horatio Hornblower, Richard Bolitho, or Nicholas Ramage might appear. It was fun reading.

Stonington, Connecticut, was one of many American ports to feel the presence of the powerful Royal Navy offshore for an extended period of the War of 1812. Harkening back to the activities of their fathers in the Revolution, there were those in these ports along Long Island Sound who used any means within their power to annoy the enemy: small craft attacked and captured British small craft; British foraging parties on the coast at times got a hot reception. The men around the Mystic-Stonington area were active in these events, so much so that the region was sometimes called "The Hornet's Nest." Because of this, and because British strategy in the summer of 1814 turned to destructive attacks on America's shore, Stonington became the focal point for such activity by the blockading commander, none other than Rear Admiral Thomas Masterman Hardy, best remembered as Nelson's flag captain at Trafalgar nine years earlier.

The author goes to considerable length to place the four eventful days in August 1814 when Stonington had its trial by fire in the larger context of the war, and also to make the reader aware of the pro- and anti-British activity transpiring in the eastern Sound (this is where the torpedoes and submarines and spies come in). He then recounts Hardy's bombardment and attempt at putting a landing party ashore. It is rebuffed by the citizenry and Lady Luck, and after further bombardment, the British return to their normal blockading routine.

In analyzing the action and the outcome, the author ascribes the lack of support from militia forces in nearby New London to the fact that Commodore Stephen Decatur and his squadron are present in the Thames River, and concern that the activity at Stonington is intended as a feint preparatory to a main thrust against that squadron. The author further ascribes Hardy's failure to press the attack at Stonington to the admiral's distaste for conducting war against a purely civilian populace. While the lure of the squadron at New London may have had some influence on the failure of the militia to go to Stonington's support, it is likelier that still-vivid memories of the "Fort Trumbull Massacre" by a British force under turncoat Benedict Arnold in September 1781 were a stronger cause for keeping a guard up "at home." As for Hardy's alleged distaste for a raiding operation, Mr. DeKay offers no contemporary evidence to support his contention, nor does his list of sources indicate any study of pertinent correspondence from Hardy or any of his subordinates. Nothing in Hardy's record is known to hint at such an attitude, and is contrary to his professional esteem. More likely, the fact that his first attempt at landing troops suffered losses including the sinking of a launch by cannon fire, and also that he could not move his major ships into really effective range, led him to conclude that he could not inflict punitive damage sufficient to warrant the possible cost.

TYRONE G. MARTIN

Tryon, North Carolina

GRAEME AND CANDY-JANE HENDERSON, *Unfinished Voyages: Western Australian Shipwrecks 1851-1880* (Nedlands, Western Australia: University of Western Australia Press, 1988). 7 ½" x 10", cloth, xviii + 308 pages, black and white illustrations, bibliography, 3 indices. US $45.50. Available from ISBS, 5602 N. E. Hassalo St., Portland, OR 97213-3640.

In 1980, Graeme Henderson of the Western Australian Maritime Museum published *Unfinished Voyages 1622-1850* (Nedlands, Western Australia: University of Western Australia Press). Issued in 1988, this companion volume covers the next major historical period in Australian history, from 1851 to 1880. During these three decades, there was significant growth in Western Australian shipping, both coastal and overseas, as settlement spread to the colonies and other regions. This period also witnessed the conversion of the coastal trade from sail to steam. As in other times, the United Kingdom was the largest trading partner; wool, timber, and mother-of-pearl were exported in exchange for British food, drink, and finished clothing. By 1880, the population of Western Australia had grown to some 30,000 individuals; as the population grew, so too did the amount of shipping and shipwrecks. The number of wreckings was increased by the absence of safety regulations for ships or their crews before 1861 and the dearth of navigational aids in the region.

Unfinished Voyages presents a register of all known wrecksites in Western Australia, both found and unfound as well as stranded. Entries are arranged chronologically rather than alphabetically in a narrative format which includes vessel name, official number, date of casualty, background information on a vessel's career, circumstances of loss and bibliography. Every few pages there are maps, but they are regionally oriented, which can be distracting since it runs contrary to the book's chronological layout. The remainder of the text has copious illustrations: contemporary maps and charts, port views, ship portraits, photographs of the wrecksites, and siteplans if the sites have been investigated.

Given the high number of known wrecks in the region, it might be surprising that so few are American. However, Western Australian ports were far from whaling grounds and the principal American trade routes during the period. Only three U.S.-registered vessels are listed: the New London whaler *North Star* (built 1828, lost 1856); the Boston barque *Cochituate* (built 1848, wrecked 1861), which was voyaging from Singapore to Melbourne, and the three-masted schooner *Harrison* (wrecked 1877), an older vessel ("forty or fifty years old") that had been purchased in San Francisco for £300 after being dismantled and condemned. There is also mention of the whaler *Lapwing*, which the author could not positively identify, a few American-built but foreign-owned vessels, and a number of coal hulks in Careening Bay which had been built in the States as well.

Several of the shipwrecks inventoried in *Unfinished Voyages* have been visited by archaeologists from the Western Australian Maritime Museum and documented to a greater or lesser extent. Many are legally protected from looting, and rewards are given to divers for reporting new sites. It is surprising that the system of rewards and relevant legislation are not more fully discussed, since one of the prime audiences for this book will be the sportdiving community. Perhaps these matters are so widely known in the region that there was no need to elaborate for Australian readers, but foreign audiences will be left wanting more information on the system and how well it works.

Other concerns are more minor. Two wrecks predating 1851 appear on a map but are not otherwise discussed, and it would also have been helpful for reference purposes to have one detailed map of the entire region marked with major ports. These minor quibbles notwithstanding, *Unfinished Voyages* is very thoroughly researched and engagingly written. The stories of the individual vessels and the personalities involved are fascinating, and they illuminate well the life and losses of the region's maritime enterprise in a significant period of Australia's development.

PAUL FORSYTHE JOHNSTON

The Smithsonian Institution

IRVING H. KING, *The Coast Guard Under Sail: The U.S. Revenue Cutter Service 1789-1865* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1989). 6" x 9", cloth, 288 pages, 30 illustrations, bibliography and index. $29.95.

The narrative overview of *The Coast Guard Under Sail: The U.S. Revenue Cutter Service 1780-1865* provides interesting insight into the progress of the Revenue Cutter Service as it developed from the Federal period through the Civil War. The nation's operating income depended on the revenue from its tariffs, and the U.S.R.C.S. constituted the enforcement agency for their collection. The ships and men of the Revenue Cutter Service served with distinction as part of the U.S. Navy during the Quasi-War with France, the War of 1812, and the Mexican War.

Conversely, Secretary Albert Gallatin's Treasury Department co-opted units of President Thomas Jefferson's infamous "gunboat navy" into the U.S.R.C.S. during 1808 to strengthen the enforcement of the onerous Embargo Act. Throughout the book, Dr. King maintains a good introduction of the effect of domestic politics upon the revenue service.

More important in the overall picture, alas, are the errors, oversights, and omissions of the text. First, readers of *The Coast Guard Under Sail* are advised that the book is the second volume of three by King that "will cover the history of the U.S. Coast Guard. The first, *George Washington's Coast Guard*, forms the basis for chapters one and two of this volume, which thus stands alone...." This editorial logic is baffling. If *The Coast Guard Under Sail* is an integral part of a series, why not begin where *George Washington's Coast Guard* left off? Hopefully the first several chapters of the promised third volume will not reprise its predecessor, as the first two chapters of this book do.

Second, as is frequently the case with an author who has relied heavily on valuable but outdated secondary sources, the errors of his predecessors are perpetuated for future readers. King appears to believe that very little new material has come to light since the 1978 publication of his first and more persuasive work. His bibliography for *The Coast Guard Under Sail* contains 106 references to books, only four of which have been published since 1980. He could have referred to recent works by William W. Freehling, Donald R. Hickey, and Michael A. Palmer, or to works edited by William S. Dudley, William J. Morgan, and Timothy J. Runyan, to cite a representative sampling, thereby considerably upgrading the text of *The Coast Guard Under Sail*. The endnotes contain copious references to primary source correspondence, but this material, while aptly used to construct his narrative, receives little or no analysis from the standpoint of the Executive and Treasury Department fabric underlying the development of the U.S. Revenue Cutter Service.

Third, the author places heavy reliance upon the *Record of Movements: Vessels of the U. S. Coast Guard*, a source that is questionable for World War II, and unreliable for earlier eras. While King cites the assiduous and invaluable research of Florence Kern into the early history of the ships of the Revenue Cutter Service, there is little evidence of the embodiment of her work into his narrative.

Lastly, there is a strong impression that *The Coast Guard Under Sail* was written in sections over a long period of time — sections that were never collated into book form for an overall rewrite.

In defense of King, however, the editing provided by the Naval Institute Press is, at best, absent-minded. There is regular repetition of material: see *Legare* pp. 116 and 117, *Morris* pp. 131 and 136, *Harriet Lane* pp. 151 and 161; unedited typographical errors, such as "Cargsford" for "Carysfort" p. 24; and frequent disruption of chronology — the reader leaves 1832 on p. 90, but does not arrive at the South Carolina Nullification Crisis of 1828 - 1833 until pp. 153-155, although the anemic index refers readers to a single phrase mention of this important event in Coast Guard history on p. 112, while ignoring King's later passage. The Nullification controversy is discussed without mention of the overall military commander, General Winfield Scott; the Senior Officer Present Afloat, Captain Jesse Duncan Elliott, USN; or the 25,000 man South Carolina state army that threatened all three federal forces at Charleston during 1832-1833. The index has several other failings; for example, it lists the first cutter *Morris* several times, but does not differentiate the second, which begins to receive mention on p. 152. Mercifully, I will leave it at that.

In conclusion, to a historian of the early American republic, the coming of a new volume intended to illuminate the under-exposed Revenue Cutter Service is an exciting prospect. This excitement unfortunately withers in the early chapters of *The Coast Guard Under Sail* and is never revived.

W.M.P. DUNNE

State University of New York at Stony Brook

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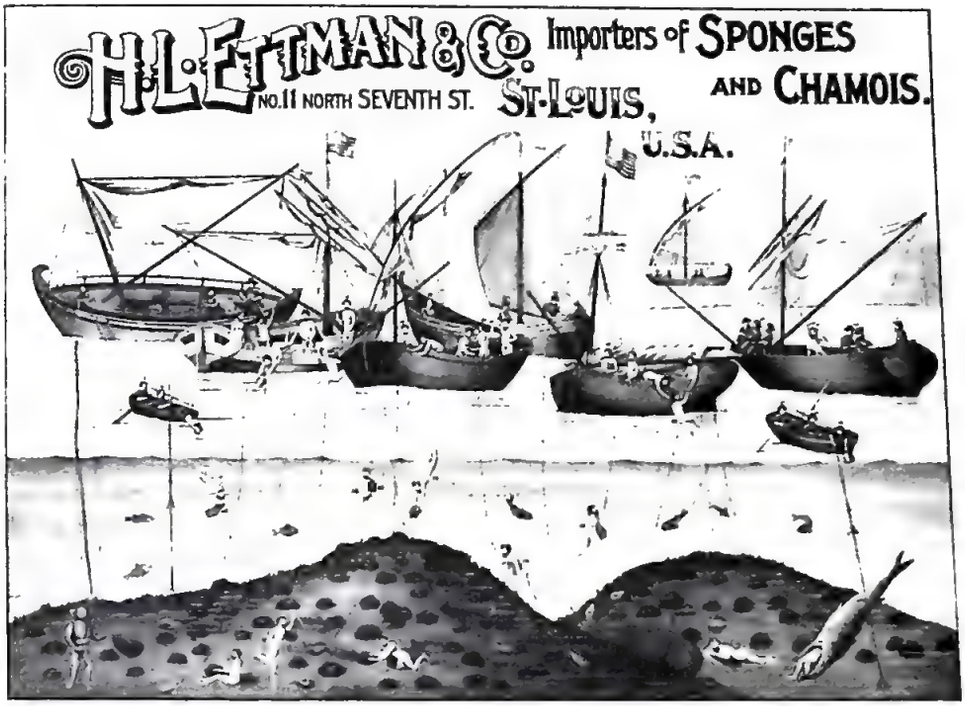

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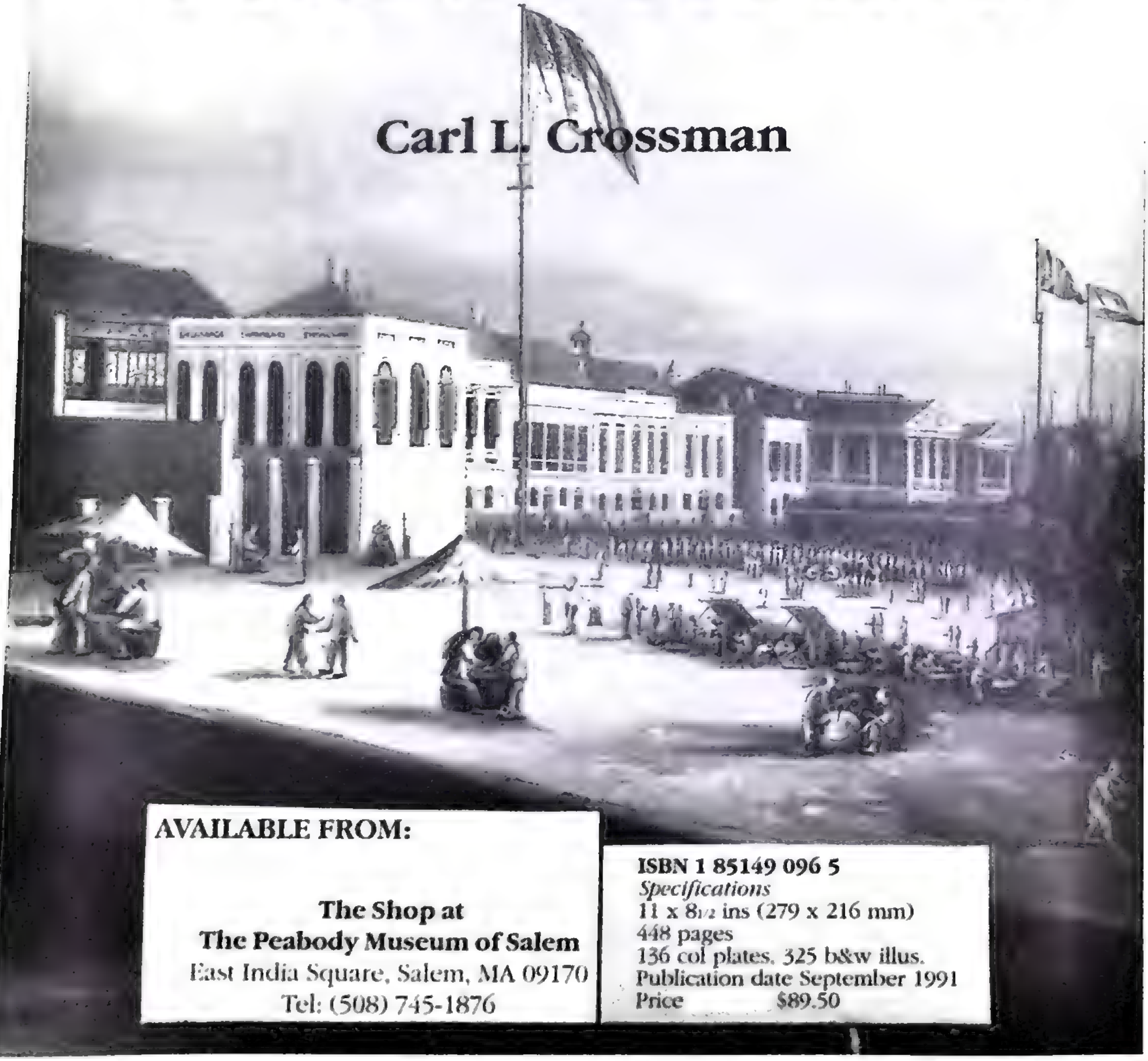

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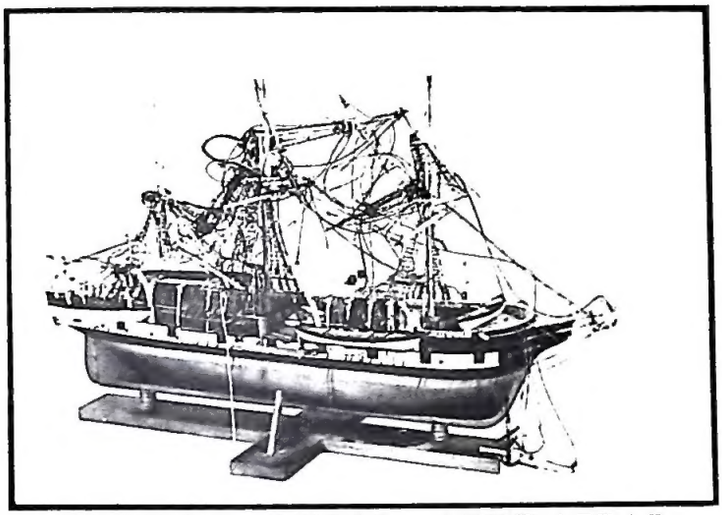

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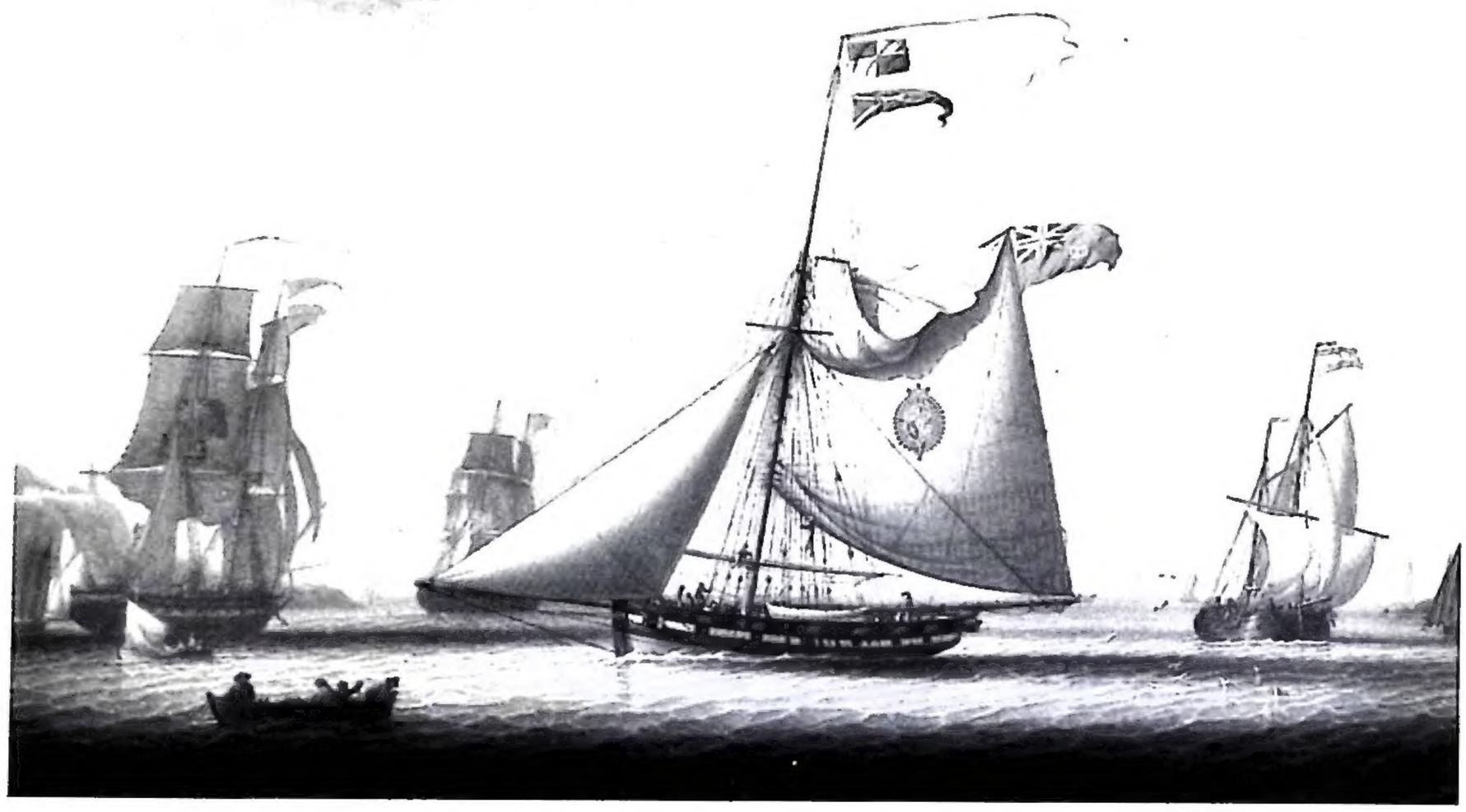

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